

INFORMATION // BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

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TIRANA, 1969

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

4

YEAR XXI

TIRANA, 1969



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On November 28, 1969, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania organized a solemn meeting in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU'S OPENING SPEECH

Dear Comrades!

Dear Friends!

We have come to this solemn meeting to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution, the 29th of November 1944 which marked a great radical turn in the history of the Albanian people: the sunset for all time of bondage, oppression, exploitation and misery and the dawn of the new and glorious epoch for our country, the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of true and full freedom for the people, the dawn of the epoch of socialism in Albania.

Present at this solemn meeting are our many and highly esteemed friends who have honored us with having come to celebrate our great jubilee together with us:

— the Delegation of the Communist Party and Government of the People's Republic of China headed by comrade Li Hsien Nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Deputy-Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and comrade Li Deshen, Candidate of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Member of the Military Council at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Deputy-Commandant of the Great Military Zone of the Chinese People's

Liberation Army and Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Province of Anhwei;

— the Delegation of the Workers' Party and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by comrade Hoang Van Hoan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Workers' Party and Deputy-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

— the Delegation of the National Front of Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the South Vietnam Republic headed by comrade Nguyen T'hi Bin, Member of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the South Vietnam Republic;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Australia headed by Party Chairman comrade Edward Hill;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninists of France headed by comrade Jacques Jurquet;

— the Delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand headed by Ron Taylor, Member of the National Committee of the Party;

— the Delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Italy headed by comrade Fosco Dinucci, Chairman and Secretary-General of the Party;

— the Delegation of the Communist Party of Indonesia;

— the Delegation of Neo Lao Hak Sat (Laos) headed by Kham Suk Sayazen;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Britain headed by comrade R. Burch, Chairman of the Party;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador;

— the Delegation of the Communist Party of Ceylon headed by comrade Mohamed Shaffié, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party;

— the Delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Spain;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria headed by comrade Franz Strobl, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Netherland headed by comrade C. Petersen, Secretary of the Party;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium headed by comrade Julien Vanderlinden, Member of the Party Secretariat;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Germany headed by comrade Ernst Aust, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee;

— the Delegation of the Organization of the Communists of Switzerland headed by comrade Elisabeth Etienne, Member of the Central Committee of the Organization;

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist League of Sweden headed by comrade Niels Holmberg, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the League.

— the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist League of Denmark headed by comrade Hans Nielsen, Secretary-General of the League.

In addition to the above delegations, present are also:

— the Delegation of the Pan African Syndicalist Union;

— the Delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Palestine;

— the Delegation of the Syndicate of the Liberation Front of Somaliland;

— the Delegation of the General Federation of Syndicates of Irak;

— the Delegation of the Congolese Socialist Youth Union;

— the Delegation of the General Union of Students of Palestine;

— the Delegation of the Black Africa Student Federation in France;

— the Delegation of the Women's Union of Palestine;

— the Delegation of the Women's Union of South Yemen;

— the Delegation of the Italy-Albania Friendship Association;

— the Delegation of the Iceland-Albania Friendship Association;

— the Delegation of the Japan-Albania Friendship Association;

— the Delegation of Ceylon-Albania Friendship Association;

— the Delegation of Austria-Albania Friendship Association.

Present are also:

the Representatives of our Albanian brothers residing in the United States of America, Argentine, Turkey, Rumania, Bulgaria, France, Syria, Austria; a group of our brothers of

heroic Kosova as well as many personalities friends of Albania from France, Turkey, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Venezuela.

We heartily thank and warmly greet our dear friends who honor us with their presence at this our great festivity. The internationalist solidarity of the peoples and parties which they represent is a major source of revolutionary inspiration and a powerful support for our people and Party.

Dear Comrades!
Esteemed Friends!

All the Albanian people, young and old, celebrate with indescribable enthusiasm the great jubilee, the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution.

Much blood has been shed on our land up to the time we achieved the victory of November 29, 1944. The Albanian people — small in number but great in vitality — were not exterminated by the merciless bondage of centuries, they breasted all the ceaseless storms of the invasions of foreign enemies. They defended and kept intact their personality as a people and nation and, sword in hand, they forced their way in history until they saw the light that will never turn out, the 29th day of November, 1944.

During these 25 years since the liberation of the Homeland from foreign bondage and the establishment of People's Rule, the Albanian people, led by our glorious Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, have achieved colossal success in all the phases of life. With pick and rifle in hand, they have run full speed ahead on the road of socialism without losing their breath for a single moment, with revolutionary step and tempo, with revolutionary courage, with revolutionary conscience. During these 25 years, the looks of our country have radically changed: we boast today of an entirely new socialist Albania without exploitation of man by man. Our Party and people come to this great jubilee with a brilliant balance of socialist feats to their credit: we come to this jubilee with steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity of people and Party, with a high sense of socialist duty, with a social structure free from exploiting classes, with a rapidly developing socialist economy, with socialist culture in the service of the people, with standards of living brooking no comparison with the past, with indomitable defensive potential, with firm international positions, with many friends and brilliant prospects.

But the road we have traversed during these 25 years has not been a smooth one: at every step we have taken we have come up against thousands of obstacles and hardships, traps and conspiracies, pressures and blockades, we have engaged in a major tit-for-tat, bitter and continuous class battle with internal and external enemies. Particularly bitter and onerous has been and continues to be the struggle of our Party and people on the international arena against the U.S-led imperialists and against the modern revisionists headed by the Khrushchëvite revisionist clique of renegades who hold arbitrary sway over the Soviet Union today. Our people and Party come to this jubilee holding aloft unstained the banner of Marxism-Leninism, they have accomplished their great historic tasks, they come in triumph as victors over every enemy and more prepared than ever to continue the struggle through to its end not only to complete the construction of socialism in our country but, together with all the revolutionary forces in the world, to bring about the complete triumph of Marxism-Leninism on an international level.

The source of our successes lies in the blood, sweat and revolutionary patriotism of our people, in the ever correct Marxist-Leninist line of our glorious Party, in the correct guidance of the Party Central Committee to consistently implement this line, in the major work of historic and decisive importance of Comrade Enver Hoxha in founding the Party, tempering it in revolution and steering it as a Marxist-Leninist helmsman in all storms, tempests and revolutionary battles. The unbreakable unity of our people with the Party and of our Party around its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha lies at the root of all our victories.

Glory to our people!

Glory to our Party!

Glory to Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Comrades!

I declare open this solemn meeting organized by the Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's Revolution.

On this occasion, the esteemed leader of our people and Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the First Secretary of the Party Central Committee will deliver a speech.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has the floor.

ENVER HOXHA

TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

*Speech delivered at the solemn meeting in commemoration
of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our country and
the triumph of our people's revolution*

Dear Comrades,
Brothers and Sisters,
Dear Friends,

Today, all our people, young and old, are celebrating with great joy and grandeur the glorious jubilee — the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country from the fascist occupационists and of the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Jointly with us, this great festival is being celebrated also by the patriotic Albanians abroad, as well as by all the comrades-in-arms of the Albanian people, by the many friends of new Albania.

Allow me, on this great festive day to bring to you, as well as to all our patriotic Albanian brothers wherever they are living, greetings and best wishes, to thank all the real friends of socialist Albania for their love, support to and fraternal solidarity with our country, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Council of Ministers and of the General Council of the Democratic Front.

Allow me likewise to warmly greet from this rostrum our glorious working class, the steel-like pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the builders of socialism in Albania, the

laboring and patriotic peasantry, our people's intelligentsia, our heroic youth and our wonderful mothers and sisters for their gigantic work, their self-denial and countless sacrifices, for the magnificent contribution they have rendered to the building of socialism. I wish you, comrades, a joyous festival and much happiness in new Albania which you have built with your blood and sweat. Honor, prosperity and glory to our dear socialist Homeland.

At these moments of special joy and cheerfulness, when we are celebrating, free, independent and sovereign, the glorious jubilee of liberation, we remember and honor with the deepest respect all the heroic men and women partisans who shed their blood for these happy days which we are living today, all those who, in the glorious National-liberation War and in the work for building socialism, laid down their lives to cement the firm foundations of new socialist Albania. To them belongs the deep and everlasting gratitude of the entire Albanian people!

The roots of our people have been nurtured in this soil through the ages, but it is only in these 25 years of their free socialist existence and of people's power that they have ever known happy days.

In 1912, fifty-seven years ago, the patriotic Albanian people scored a great victory, the proclamation of their independence which crowned their protracted struggles through the centuries against the occupationists. For the first time since the days of Skanderbeg, Albania emerged in the international arena as an independent and sovereign state. We recall today, with honor and respect, the heroic struggle of the patriots of the period of our national revival, their spirit of self-denial and their infinite love of country.

But the bourgeoisie and the feudals who came to power were only half way and betrayed the brilliant cause of the patriots of the period of our national revival. Albania remained in a state of poverty and ignorance and was sold off to the foreigners.

The National-liberation War, the people's Revolution, along with the expulsion and the overthrowing of the exploiting classes, realized the beautiful dream of the great patriots of Albania; they made Albania really free and independent; they embarked her on the road to progress and well-being.

The National-liberation War was a real people's war which was waged by the people and in the interest of the people. It ended with our victory over the external and internal enemies, because, from the ranks of the people and at the decisive mo-

ment, when their existence and their future were at stake, there came into being the Communist Party of Albania, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the reliable and wise leader of all the working masses. The creation of the Party and its emergence at the head of the insurgent people and of their liberation struggle, marked a radical turning-point in the historic destiny of Albania. The Party gave the people a clear programme of action and showed them the only correct way to put it into practice.

It was under the leadership of the Party, and in the legendary clash with the most savage enemies of mankind — the Italian fascists and the German nazis that the bravery and heroism of the Albanian people, their indomitable freedom-loving spirit, their great hatred of the oppressors and enslavers, their courage, and determination to fight the enemies and win, defying all sacrifices, manifested with a force multiplied ten times over, and were reaffirmed on a new basis.

Taking a bird's eye view of twenty five years of heroic work of our Party, we see more clearly the glory of the National-liberation War, and the historic significance of the triumph of our people's revolution. They laid the steel-like foundations of new socialist Albania, they opened the bright epoch of socialism and communism to the Albanian people.

Glory to the men and women partisans, to the Albanian sons and daughters who, arms in hand, fought over mountain and plain, with unprecedented heroism, giving the people freedom, independence, power, and opening to them the road to socialism!

Our young socialist state, which grew from the barrel of the partisan gun slammed and locked the door forever to the imperialist wolves and the anti-popular regimes. The once long-suffering Albania, oppressed by the beys and agas, a semi-colonial country and a token taken to be traded among the great powers, is today a free socialist, independent and sovereign country, master of its own destinies and invincible.

The historic aim of the proletariat, of the working people, of their revolutionary representatives — the communists, is to overthrow in their own country any anti-popular oppressive order, to abolish any sort of exploitation of man by man, to build a new society in which the working people will enjoy all their rights and be masters of their own destinies, and where everything will be in the interest and in the service of the people. Our Party and our people come to this great jubilee, head erect

and breast out, for they have carried out with honor this glorious historic mission.

The objective of proletarian revolutionaries is to do everything in their power for the triumph of the great cause of socialism, not only in their own country, but also throughout the world. Our Party and our people have always held firm and raised ever higher the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of unreserved support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle in other countries, the banner of inflexible struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The twenty five years that have elapsed since the day of liberation are a living testimony to the life-giving illumination of Marxism-Leninism, to the invincible strength of the socialist regime, they are a great affirmation of the correctness of the general line of our Party, of the steel-like political unity of the Albanian people, of their work and determination to always march courageously forward on the road opened to them by people's Revolution.

We are fully entitled to be proud of the successes achieved and of the battles won in all fields. Albania is no longer that backward country of the wooden plough and thatched-roofed huts, of the pinetorch and kerosine lamp, of illiteracy and malaria. Today new socialist Albania is marching with giant strides and with an irresistible revolutionary vigor towards the complete building of socialist society. We have an industry equipped with most modern machines, a developed socialist agriculture, a very advanced and complete educational system. The former country of poor shepherds, of exhausted peasants and of the savage vendetta, has become today a country of a developed culture and art whose content may be envied even by those who measure their civilization by centuries.

In their gigantic efforts, exerted all along from the beginning of the National-liberation War to this day, our people have had to shed much blood and much sweat, they have had to fight and work encircled by savage and wily enemies, to keep the rifle always ready beside the pick. Not only our enemies, but also those who knew little about our people and our Party have frequently predicted and declared that people's Albania «would not last long». Reality, however, has completely disabused them all. Our people, under the wise and farsighted leadership of the Party, have successfully coped with all the enemies, they have courageously overcome all the difficulties, they have resolutely removed all the obstacles.

We come to the great jubilee of liberation stronger than ever. The most advanced social order — socialism — has been established in Albania on firm foundations. We meet the glorious 25th anniversary united to a man around the Party of Labor and the People's Power. Our people, workers, peasants and people's intelligentsia, are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the triumph of revolution full of revolutionary optimism, confident of a more beautiful and happier future lying in store for our socialist Homeland, determined to work and fight with all their strength so that socialist Albania may live and thrive through centuries, so that the banner of freedom, the banner of communism should always fly proudly in our homeland.

Dear Comrades!

The 29th of November 1944, the day when our valiant partisans brought freedom to our Homeland, marks the great day of the real revival of our people, the boundary where the old world ends and where the new world, the brilliant epoch of socialism, begins.

The road which we have traversed during these 25 years has been one of continuous struggle in the most diverse fields and forms for the building of socialist Albania, for the complete triumph of the new world over the old world and its remnants. On this road we have had to fight against the class enemies, against numerous obstacles and difficulties, we have had to fight against the imperialist enemies and the sham friends — the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, against their detestable sabotage and blockades. But just as during the National-liberation War, so also in the struggle to build socialism, our people, endowed with a lofty spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with an iron will and exemplary courage, and wisely led by the Party, have always emerged successful and have achieved one victory after another.

Following the liberation of our country and the establishment of our people's power, our people and our Party were faced with great and complicated historic tasks on whose solution depended the future of the country and the fate of socialism in Albania.

The entire old feudal-bourgeois structure and super-structure had to be overthrown, the relations of small scale production of commodities had to be radically transformed, and we had to pass over to the system of scientific socialism in the city and

the countryside, in economy and culture. But it was necessary to radically transform also, the inner world of men and women, to endow them with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with socialist ideology, with communist morality. It was indispensable and urgent, likewise, to rebuild the war-ravaged country and to overcome at the most rapid rates the centuries long economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past.

Our Party relied on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, on the valuable experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, but it could not copy this experience and carry it out in practice in a mechanical way. This experience and the Marxist-Leninist principles had to be implemented in a creative manner on our specific territory with its historic, geographic, economic, class, political, ideological and other peculiarities. The difficulties and dangers were great. One could break his neck at every turn, at every fundamental decision which determined the strategic direction, as well as in the tactical stand towards the implementation of these decisions.

To its honor and glory our Party, however, correctly solved both the strategic and the tactical tasks.

Within a very short time, the aftermath of war was liquidated, and the energies of the working class and of all the working masses were concentrated on the vital battle for the vigorous development of the forces of production, for the uplift and rapid progress of the whole economy. In this direction the Party followed, consistently and with unshakable determination, the course of socialist industrialization, of giving priority to industry in the development of our young socialist economy, considering it as a decisive factor of the country's development in all fields.

The socialist industrialization of the country started in the early years at slow rates and developed with a persistent struggle on the part of the Party, of the working class, and of the whole people overcoming many difficulties and obstacles. This had its own reasons. We inherited almost no industry whatever, while even that little which existed was gravely damaged by the war. They Yugoslav pseudo-allies, far from helping, sabotaged our country's industrial development by all manners of means. The Soviet aid, in the direction of industrialization, came after some delay and, at the beginning, it was limited, due to the difficult situation created in the Soviet Union as a result of the terrible war devastation. Later, this aid increased, but with the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists it began

to slow down and to be sabotaged until it was cut off and replaced with a hostile blockade.

But our Party, our working class and all our people with a courageous struggle, heedless of difficulties and sacrifices, marched courageously ahead. They were not deceived by the idle talk of the Khrushchevite revisionists about the so-called «international socialist division of labor», «specialization and cooperation of production among socialist countries», etc., the objective of which is the economic and political subjugation of other countries and aiming at making our country an agrarian appendage to their own. Our Party and our people unwaveringly continued the correct road of socialist industrialization which was not long in yielding brilliant results that have completely changed the face of our Homeland.

From a backward agricultural country, Albania has been transformed now into an advanced agricultural-industrial one. In 1938 industrial production accounted for only 8 per cent of the total industrial-agricultural production, whereas in the year 1968 it reached 61.5 per cent. At present, the production of the «Mao Tsetung» textile combine in Berat alone, is larger than the production of the whole of the country's industry in 1938.

All over Albania there have been set up hundreds of big works of heavy and light, extraction and processing industries. Today the chimneys of the factories and plants are seen in all our cities, old and young, which have been turned into important industrial centers. Formerly the city of Fier counted 4.800 inhabitants. Its population engaged only in trade, in handicrafts and in agriculture. Today Fieri has become one of the country's largest industrial centers. Erected there are a nitrate fertilizers plant, an oil refinery, a heat-power station with a capacity of about 100.000 kilowatts, a cotton ginning factory, a brick works, etc. In the city of Fieri, which has been expanded and filled with beautiful buildings, there are employed today over 7.500 workers. The same can be said also of Lushnja, Kavaja, Berat, Kukës or Gjirokastra, without speaking of such cities as Tirana, Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora, etc.

The country's socialist industrialization has brought about not only quantitative changes. It has brought about also great qualitative changes. The priority development of the branches serving for the production of the means of production, which in 1968 accounted for 55,5 per cent of the total industrial output, has ensured an ever more efficient exploitation of our natural resources, it has led towards the consolidation of the country's

economic independence and has ensured ever more favorable conditions for the rapid development of our economy. While in the past our country's industry was mainly represented by some small and primitive factories of the light and food industries, by handicraft and an occasional small mine, now there have been created new and modern branches such as the oil, chromium or iron-nickel industries, the chemical, machine-building and power industries, the building materials industry, etc., which are growing rapidly and constitute a sound basis for the creation and development of new branches of industry under the coming five-year plans.

Big works, equipped with a modern technology, such as the nitrate and superphosphate fertilizer plants, the machinery plants, that of tractor spare parts, the textile combines, the construction of big hydro-power stations, like the «Mao Tse-tung» hydropower station at Vau i Dejës, or of the powerful heat-power stations like the one in Fieri, the cement factories or the construction of railways, the erection of the ferrous metallurgical combine, and so many others, are eloquent proof of the high level of our economy, of the results achieved and of the vast prospects which have been opened to our national economy.

The country's electrification, as one of the decisive factors in the rapid and sure development of the whole of our national economy, is another important index clearly showing the great results of the socialist industrialization policy pursued by the Party during these 25 years. Today, in about 4 days the country produces as much electric power as that produced during the whole year 1933. The Kruja district alone consumes 3,5 times more power than the whole of pre-liberation Albania consumed. The electrification of all the villages, which is being carried out now with full success, at a time when in many European countries they cannot even think of such an undertaking, testifies best of all to the strength of our socialist country, to the growth of the country's economic possibilities, to the great solicitude displayed by the Party and the people's regime for the progress and the continuous increase of the material and cultural wellbeing of the laboring masses.

The Party policy for the country's industrialization has strengthened the whole of our national economy. It has resulted in achieving major victories not only in the field of industry and mining, but also in those of building construction, communications, commerce, etc.

During these 25 years of new Albania, jointly with the

development and advance of the various industrial branches, there has also been achieved another great victory of historic and decisive importance to the country's destiny. I am referring to the creation and growth of the new working class, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the standard-bearer and leader of socialist constructions in Albania. Today, we have a working class large in number, endowed with a high political class consciousness and with wonderful capacities and talents. It is becoming ever more conscious of its role as the class in power. The working class is continuously tempered on the anvil of revolution, it is ever more forcefully having its decisive say, is extending its direct control over everyone and over everything. With its ideology, work and struggle, it is setting the tone today to the entire national life, leading the revolutionary movement, inspiring all the other working people by the example it sets.

Our socialist industrialization, always taking into account its particular features deriving from Albania's specific conditions, as well as from the historic circumstances through which we have passed, has been and is being developed on correct Marxist-Leninist lines.

In the conditions of our small country, the undeviating Party line has been and remains that, by advancing at a rapid rate on the road of socialist transformations and, at the same time, of the intensive development of agriculture, to make our national economy more independent, ever more capable of standing on its own feet, preserving and consolidating thereby also the political independence of our socialist Homeland; to unremittingly strengthen its defensive power against any attempt of the imperialist and revisionist enemies who surround us; to constantly improve the well-being of our people and ever better fulfil their needs.

The Party has laid down the continuous development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, the widest possible introduction of modern science, technology and agronomy, the spreading of scientific experimentation in every field as one of the most important problems and tasks of the development of our socialist economy, of the complete building of socialism in our country.

This revolution is an integral part of our socialist revolution and is being carried out in unity with the ideological and cultural revolution. Its fundamental aim is to place the whole of our national economy on a higher scientific and technical basis,

in order to ensure a higher labor productivity, a more vigorous development of the productive forces, in order to lighten the work of our men and women and to raise their living standards higher. The main efforts must be concentrated everywhere on the transition from handicraft forms to modern industrial production, to the introduction of new technology, to the implementation of a strict scientific discipline in all the processes of work and production, to the scientific organization and management of the national economy, to the summing up and spreading of advanced experience. The decisive condition for leading the technical and scientific revolution forward is the mobilization of all the creative living energies of the working masses and specialists, their all-round political, ideological, technical and scientific education, the continuous strengthening of their cooperation in the most diverse and the most fruitful forms.

Our road of socialist industrialization, closely combined also with the broad development of the technical and scientific revolution, has nothing in common with and is in complete opposition to the various technocratic views which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists are spreading with clamour at the present time.

The ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie are striving to make the working people believe that the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today is allegedly removing the ills of capitalism, that it is reforming it, liquidating the classes and class antagonisms, and replacing the capitalist owners with the technocratic administrators. On this basis they declare that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the need for proletarian revolution, have been overcome.

In reality, behind the so-called «industrial society», or «technocratic society» there lies hidden the brutal oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and the state monopoly capitalism. The modern revisionists, who have completely and absolutely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and placed themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie, have proclaimed the «technocratic society» and the technical and scientific progress, which leads to the strengthening and expansion of the state monopoly capitalism, as an «introduction of the elements of socialism in the gradual transformation of capitalism».

In the revisionist countries, technocracy, alongside with bureaucratism and as a subtle expression of it, has become one of the principal means of displacing the working class from lea-

dership and of restoring capitalism. The economy of these countries, which the revisionists continue to call «socialist» under the pretext that it is nationalized or collectivized, is in reality nothing else but a capitalist economy of a special type. It is in the hands, in the service, and in the interest of the new bourgeois class of the bureaucrats and technocrats, which has been created and continues to be consolidated. The western bourgeois theoreticians call what is happening in the revisionist countries, as the «liberalization and democratization of socialism». Thus, both sides, the bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists, converge at one and the same point, that of trying to keep capitalism alive and liquidate socialism.

But the technical and scientific revolution, and linked with it, the development of technocratism, do not and cannot save capitalism or modern revisionism from their inevitable collapse and destruction. They cannot change the objective laws of social development, particularly, that of the class struggle and revolution. The introduction on a large scale of science and technology in production, which the western capitalist monopolies and the new bourgeoisie of the revisionist countries are compelled to do because of the fierce domestic and inter-state competition and to ensure maximum profits, does, by no means, mitigate the internal and external, economic and class contradictions, of the old and the new capitalism; it does not save it from the incurable and the ever more destructive crisis. On the contrary, this aggravates further the contradictions and crises, it raises the tide of the class struggle to an ever higher degree, and leads, in the final account, when the subjective factor, too, is up to the mark, to the all-conquering socialists revolution.

The successes achieved by our country in its industrialization during these twenty-five years have created the material basis which allows us to aim at transforming Albania, in the not distant future, from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. To reach this target it is indispensable that the main task of the industrial development should continue to be, in the future, too, the extension and improvement of the structure of industrial production, based on an advanced technology. For this purpose there must be created a stable internal basis of raw materials and, what is more important, we should be able to make a most rational exploitation, and with the best economic effect, of various natural resources. This will make it possible to ensure the fulfilment of the ever greater needs of the people's economy, the systematic increase of the

well-being of the people and the growth of the country's defensive power.

We shall certainly achieve these objectives, for we have a heroic, industrious and resolved people, we have a glorious and talented working class, we have our Party which, by its wise and farsighted Marxist-Leninist policy, leads us for certain towards new victories.

Our countryside and our peasantry have, likewise, undergone radical transformations. All of us have still fresh in our minds the thatched-roofed huts and the oppressed peasants of Myzeqe, the hungry highlanders of Puka and Dukagjini, the whole of our toiling and much suffering peasantry. We remember the swamps and marshes which flooded the best plains of Albania from Buna, to the South, to the Vurgu of Delvina.

But all this belongs to history, to the past. Today, all the new cooperative countryside is shining in the light of socialism. The peasant has relegated to bitter memory the age-old cult of the hunk of bread, the suffering for which persecuted him from the cradle to the grave. The agricultural cooperative which has fully extended to all the villages, is today a powerful unit of the broad and all-round agricultural and livestock production, thoroughly integrated with the general national economy and a solid basis of it. With their own forces and with the great aid of the people's power, the cooperatives today are more and more practising intensive farming, at an ever higher level of agricultural technique.

In comparison with the pre-war level agricultural production has been increased more than three times over, and the area of cultivated land has been doubled. Thanks to the land reclamation and irrigation works constructed so far, there have been reclaimed and improved about 200.000 hectares of land and the irrigation capacity, by the end of the year 1968, reached more than 240.000 hectares as against only 29.000 in 1938. At present, there are 10.500 tractors (in terms of 15 HP) at work on our fields as against 30 all told before liberation. Nowadays Albania ranks among the developed countries with regard to the use of chemical fertilizers which were not even known in this country before the war. In the year 1968 we used an average of 79 kg. of chemical fertilizers in active substance per hectare of cultivated land, while in the year 1967 Greece used 68 kg., Spain 36,8 kg., Yugoslavia 60,4 kg., Hungary 66,9 kg. and Italy 72,6 kg. of chemical fertilizers.

To the countryside and also in the life of the peasantry

itself socialism has brought progress that brooks no comparison with the past. Our peasant today lives in a new house. His children attend the 8-grade school. The hospital, the outpatient clinics and the pharmacy are at his door. In many villages there have been set up crèches and kindergartens, public bath-rooms, laundries, homes and hearths of culture. The motor-road has brought the countryside nearer to the city and every day the radio and the press bring the whole country and the whole world to the cooperative peasants by their fireside.

The successes and victories achieved are closely connected with the Party line for the correct solution of the peasant problem which is among the most important and the most complicated problems for every country embarking on the road of socialist construction. From the early days of liberation and onwards the Party has devoted its main attention to this vital and difficult problem, especially in our conditions, where the overwhelming percentage of the population were peasants, where the impoverished and war-ravaged countryside had to be rebuilt on new lines, unknown to it. The peasant had to stick to the land, not to abandon it due to the difficulties of the early days, because this would swell the cities with unemployed and would create a food crisis. The peasantry had to be freed from fetters of private property and to adopt the socialist way. We had to overcome the inherited backwardness and rapidly develop the forces of production in the domain of agriculture.

The Party solved this vital problem correctly. It raised and led the laboring peasantry in the struggle against the foreign occupationists and their collaborators — the beys and agas, big land estate holders, who had robbed the peasant of his land and had enslaved him. It was in this struggle that the great alliance of the peasantry and the working class was forged, that the main social basis of the people's revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat was established.

The consistent application of the land reform laws, the first major decision of the Party and the people's power on the solution of the peasant problem, taken immediately after liberation, brought about a deep transformation in the social relations and in the consciousness of the peasantry who witnessed the realization of their centuries-old dream of land and of casting off the heavy yoke of the bey and of the landlord. The distribution of land by the proletarian Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated the alliance of the peasantry and the working class. Let us recall for a moment the privations

endured by and the heavy tasks assigned to the peasantry at the beginning. They breasted them with a high sense of duty. Their correct and inflexible attitude towards the decisions the Party and the people's power were adopting was a testimony to the loyalty of the laboring peasantry towards the Party of the proletariat, towards the working class, a testimony to their alliance with the working class which they accepted as their leadership, for they saw the correct way of development, they foresaw the prospect of the happy life which was being built through hardships and sacrifices.

All this prepared the material and spiritual conditions for taking the next decisive steps, of passing over to the process of the socialist transformation of the countryside. Alongside the large-scale work of land reclamation, for the mechanization of agriculture, for the development of agricultural crops, of stock raising, etc., there was carried out the great struggle for the collectivization of agriculture, which, according to the consistent and, at the same time, cautious directives of the Party, gradually spread throughout the country, including, of late, the upland regions as well.

By the experience of life and thanks to the large scale explanatory work done by the Party, the peasants became convinced of the superiority of the cooperative system, the only one that can free them from want, that can save them from all and every kind of exploitation. The world outlook of the peasantry changed radically. The psychology of individual work, of the small private property and of the narrow individual interest began to give way more and more to the feeling and consciousness of collective property, of collective work and of large-scale socialist production.

It was under these conditions that the process of uniting cooperatives into larger ones, that scientific experimentation and the application of the technical and scientific revolution began to develop on a large scale in agriculture too; that the struggle for high yields started, that agricultural technique spread 'en masse', that the number of qualified cadres increased in the countryside, etc. The new socialist countryside finds itself today under the vigorous process of development and transformation, affecting both the production and the social and cultural fields.

The intensification of mechanization, the large-scale land reclamation and irrigation schemes, the wide use of chemicals, the ever better implementation of advanced agricultural technique, the extension of the communication network, etc., the

increase of the number of specialized cadres and, in general, the rise of the educational standard of the peasant, have created proper material conditions for carrying out modern intensive farming in breadth and depth, for raising cultural and living standards of the cooperative peasant masses, to bring about an ever greater rapprochement of the production and life of the countryside with that of industry and of the city.

This revolutionary process of the vigorous development of the productive forces in agriculture and of the perfecting of socialist relations in the countryside will continue until the agricultural cooperatives are transformed from the property of the group into the property of the entire people, until the differences between the cooperatives and the state farms are eliminated so as to reach the complete building of socialism in the countryside, to gradually narrow down and eventually liquidate the essential differences between the city and the country, between the peasantry and the working class, etc. This is the Marxist-Leninist road that leads to the classless communist society.

The correctness of the Party line with regard to the countryside, as well as the magnificent victories achieved during these 25 years become still more evident when we witness the grave and critical situation of agriculture in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries.

The modern revisionists, some earlier and others later, abandoned the Marxist-Leninist road of the socialist development of the countryside. They have liquidated and are liquidating the gains of socialism in the countryside. Their road is that of returning to capitalism under allegedly socialist labels.

Capitalism and the modern revisionists, under the pretext of «superindustrialisation», of the creation of «industrial society», of «complex mechanisation» of agriculture, etc., impoverish the countryside, compel the peasantry to abandon their farmsteads, introducing the grip of agrarian concerns, they depopulate the countryside and throw millions of unemployed onto the roads, they create the reserve of slaves, which they use to increase exploitation in the city as well.

We follow a diametrically opposite course in our socialist society. Attaching first-rate importance to industrialisation and mechanisation of labor, at the same time we by no means underrate the countryside and do not advance on the road of depopulation of the villages but we develop agriculture in harmony with them. While fighting for high yields in the lowland areas, we do not neglect fighting for the rapid development of agricul-

ture in the hilly and mountainous areas. The preservation of the right proportions in this direction is very important to the cause of socialist construction in our country, to any situation that may arise, whereas allowing the creation of discrepancies is fraught with disorders and grave economic, political, class and ideological consequences.

Agriculture is faced today with very important problems and tasks, on the solution of which the entire development of our national economy is directly dependent. For the development of the productive forces in the countryside in the present conditions of our country it is indispensable that we should aim mainly at the increase of the yields of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, at the extension of the area of the cultivated lands, and at the improvement and perfecting of the structure of agricultural production.

Our patriotic laboring peasantry, led by the Party and enjoying, as always, the aid and support of the working class, will accomplish these great tasks with success, it will certainly make its life more flourishing and more prosperous.

Dear Comrades,

The great historic victories, achieved by new Albania during these 25 years of the people's power on all the fronts of the struggle for the building and defence of socialism, testify to the heroism, patriotism and the high revolutionary spirit of our wonderful men and women, inspired and educated with a special care by the Party. If our country, with rare spirit of self-denial, has been able to overcome within a short period of time the countless difficulties and obstacles raised by the centuries long inherited backwardness and by the frantic hostile activity of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionary forces, if our people have built a developed socialist society and our Homeland stands as an impregnable fortress and a beacon-light of socialism on the Adriatic coast, this is due, to a large extent, to the fact that the Party has been able to create and temper the new man, equipped with a high socialist consciousness and outstanding revolutionary qualities.

We are rightfully proud of our heroic working class, of our valiant laboring peasantry, of our revolutionary youth, of our wonderful women, of our people's intelligentsia — of the whole of our people who, united as one, rallied around the Party, are marching onward fearing no tempest whatsoever. The

war-time heroism has been repeated during the whole period of socialist construction and it is rising higher in the present days. It has become a distinctive feature of our society.

Let us preserve, develop and increase with every passing day these lofty qualities which the Party has forged in our men and women!

Especially in these recent years, eversince the open letter and the historic 5th Party Congress, in close connection with the entire process of the revolutionisation of national life, a new qualitative leap is underway for the moulding of the new man of socialist society.

The great revolutionary process which is taking place today is a continuation and deepening of our socialist revolution. It is a general offensive against all the blemishes and remnants from the old world which we are burying, it is a great and all-round struggle to bar the road to the restoration of capitalism today and in the future, from inside or outside, it is a fierce class struggle to lead the revolution continually forward, to ensure the complete and ultimate victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

This great revolutionary process, which is taking place under the leadership of the Party and with the broad participation of the working masses, has encompassed all fields of life, of political and ideological, economic and cultural, organizational and military activities. It has set in motion everything, everybody, effecting a radical overturning of concepts, customs, traditions, in the way of living, in the manners and attitudes of men and women, in their entire work and life. Revolutionisation has created a high militant spirit, a great mobilization in work, an unexampled spirit of innovatorism, a steel-like unity of the people and the Party. It has encouraged as never before the revolutionary initiative, individual action and courage of the masses, which have found their powerful expression in a series of deep revolutionary movements of an economic, political and ideological character. This is a living testimony to the correctness of the Party line and a brilliant victory for it.

In the struggle for the further revolutionarisation of the life of the country, the Party is courageously blazing untrodden paths; by its experience it is making an important contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, to the enrichment of the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The importance of this experience rests in the fact that it shows how to ensure the continuity of revolution, how to build the com-

plete socialist society and to pass over to communism, how to prevent the backward turn or the interruption of the revolutionary process.

In moulding the new man, conscious worker of socialist construction, a great role has been played by the development and deepening of the revolution in the field of education and culture, as an integral part of, and closely connected with, the entire development of our revolution. The solution of this task appears still more urgent, if we do not lose sight of the backwardness which we have inherited from the past. The Party made it clear at the very outset that socialism could not be built with illiterate persons; that, to have the country advance, it was necessary to raise the educational and cultural standards of the workers and peasants.

The whole of Albania is covered by a wide network of schools of all types. Two out of every 7 persons attend school. The compulsory 8-grade education has been fully realized not only in the city, but now also in all the villages. This is at a time when today as yet in Italy over 100.000 children remain illiterate each year, while in Yugoslavia 20 per cent and in Greece 27 per cent of the population are illiterate. In the whole of our educational system today there are serving about 23.000 teachers as against approximately 1.700 that existed before liberation. The middle schools of Delvina and Konispol alone, count more pupils than all the gymnasiums of Albania in 1938, whereas one of the parallels of the tenth form of the «Qemal Stafa» middle school in Tirana counts more girls than all the country's gymnasiums had before the war. As to higher education, formerly non-existent, Albania boast today of 113 students for every 10.000 inhabitants, leaving behind in this field such advanced countries as Britain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. Our higher schools graduate today about 2.000 cadres yearly, or over 5 times more than the total number of highly trained specialists Albania had in 1938.

Actually, our Party and our people have engaged in a great work and struggle for the revolutionization of our school. We have now a clear and full program of action in this field. It is incumbent on us to deeply understand the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and to take all the measures to put them into practice. While giving priority to the Marxist-Leninist education of youth, our schools through a scientific combination of study with productive work and with the physical and military training of the pupils and students,

must train capable cadres, loyal and resolute fighters for the cause of communism, prepared to cope with every task and every difficulty.

In the field of culture and art, likewise, there have taken place changes so great that no parallel whatever can be drawn with the past. Only 17 cinemas, 2 museums, 5 libraries and the publication of some 180.000 copies of books comprised the entire basis of culture in the year 1938. Whereas at present, we have about 1.750 houses and hearths of culture, the cinema network has extended not only to all the large and small cities, but also to many agricultural cooperatives. Twenty-five professional theaters and variety shows, tens of public libraries, museums and house-museums contribute to the cultural and revolutionary up-bringing of the masses. During the year 1968, the «Mihai Duri» printing establishment alone printed 590 books with a total circulation of about 7 million copies. The radio is being introduced to almost all families and now work is underway for the erection of a television center which marks another important stride ahead for the dissemination of the proletarian ideology and culture.

All-round cultural and artistic activity with the active participation of the workers, peasants, young men and young women, is today being conducted in all the parts of our Homeland. Hundreds of talented writers and artists are militating with their works for the ideals of the Party and socialism.

These successes will be further developed in the future. Just as we have done so far, we must see to it that education and culture remain free from the penetration of alien bourgeois and revisionist influences, that they always remain powerful weapons in the struggle which our people are waging in defence of our Homeland and in building socialism.

The large-scale and daily work of the Party and of the mass organisations for the communist education of our men and women, the broad development of socialist education and culture, have resulted in raising the revolutionary consciousness of the working people to a higher level. But it would be a mistake to become self-satisfied and complacent about that. We must be aware that the fight for the moulding of the new man is the most protracted, the most arduous, the most complicated and the most delicate fight, because it is precisely in this field that the resistance of the old world is greater, more stubborn and deeper. The struggle between the two socialist and capitalist ways passes through the consciousness of men. Therefore the

purging of the consciousness of the working people of all the traces and influences of the old society and of the capitalist and revisionist world that surrounds us, the moulding of the working people with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with the norms of communist morality, with revolutionary virtues, is an indispensable condition and an integral part of the complete building of socialist society. Undervaluation in this respect and deficiencies in this field, as shown by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of certain other countries, are fraught with grave consequences.

Especially in the present epoch, when the problems and the tasks of the struggle in the ideological field are in the forefront, the persistent and scientific fight of the Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat for moulding the new man of socialist society, should be carried out frontally, in all directions. The whole economic and social development of our country, of the structure and superstructure, of education and culture, must serve this purpose.

On the question of the education of men and women a deep demarcation line is drawn between us and the modern revisionist renegades who seek by all their means to degenerate man spiritually, ideologically, politically and morally, in order to turn them into blind tools of their anti-Marxist and treacherous policy, into obedient slaves of the revisionist counter-revolution.

Our Party has never viewed the revolutionary communist education of the working people as a mere illuminist process, the less so as a spontaneous and passive process, but as an active process of the class struggle in the fold of the people, which is carried out by the Party, by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the mass organisations, with the participation of all the working people. The Party has underlined and continues to underline that the communist education of men and women is part and parcel of the active, merciless and principled fight against all the stains and influences of alien ideologies, whether feudal, patriarchal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or revisionist, which will inevitably continue to exist for a very long time yet, to this or that extent, in the consciousness of our working people. Any concession, appeasement, compromise or opportunism towards the manifestations and influences of alien ideologies would be fatal to our cause.

This frontal struggle for the communist up-bringing of the working people, of vital importance to the fate of the revolution

and socialism, places great tasks before the Party, before the social and State organisations, our schools and the family, our literature and arts, before all the organisations and institutions which form social opinion. The whole of this work should be further improved, should be made deeper, more persuasive, more militant, always correctly combining theory and practice, explanatory ideological and political work with the mass revolutionary undertaking, education with self-education, educative measures with economic and organisational ones, etc. The attentive and continuous study of the immortal works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of the documents and of the history of our glorious Party of Labor will help all the working people to master better the materialist world outlook and our vanguard theory, it will make them more capable of waging the great struggle which lies ahead for the complete building of socialism and of communist society.

The Party line for the country's industrialisation and the uninterrupted development of collectivized agriculture, the continuous efforts for the expansion of education and culture, the tireless work for the further revolutionisation of the whole national life, have not been and will never be an aim in themselves. They all serve one great aim — the all-round physical and spiritual emancipation of the working masses, the uplift of the standard of their wellbeing.

The greatest victory reaped by our Party and our People's Regime during these 25 years in our country is the liquidation of exploitation of man by man. The peasant and the worker, the employee and the intellectual, everybody, earns his living by his work and contributes to the building of socialism. The Albanian woman, this tremendous revolutionary force, that once was treated with contempt and destined only for household chores, is taking an active part in the country's political life, in social production, in factory and field, in education, culture, commerce, etc. This is another historic victory of our Party and of our People's Power.

Before the war, people in Albania died for lack of a dose of quinine. As a consequence of slave labor and poverty their average life-span did not exceed 38 years. Today there are hospitals and maternity homes in the remotest areas of the country such as that of Dukagjini. The extension of the medical service throughout the country, the erection of hospitals, clinics, outpatient clinics and infirmaries, the medical service and treatment given free of charge to the entire population, and in general, the increa-

se of the wellbeing of our working people, have made their life happy and secure. At present, the average life-span of man in our country has lengthened and has reached 66 years.

The increase of agricultural and industrial production, the increase of national income and its just distribution have made possible the increase of the purchasing power of the working people. In the year 1968, as against 1938 there were consumed, per capita of the population, more of the following items: Sugar and sugar-products over 2.5 times, edible fats over 2 times, vegetables and their products — 2.3 times, various fabrics — 10 times, all sorts of footwear 4.3 times, etc.

During these 25 years there have been built with State funds, with the aid of the State, and by the working people themselves, about 185.000 dwelling flats and houses in cities and in the countryside. This means that more than half of the present-day population of the whole country have been lodged in new dwelling houses.

The latest price reduction which was effected on the eve of this jubilee, is another testimony showing that our Party and People's Power are firmly and consistently advancing on the road of the continuous improvement of the living standard of the working people. Another great proof of this reality is also the fact that Albania is the only country in the world where there is no tax or direct impost on the population.

The tremendous changes that have taken place from the country's liberation until today, are the fruit of the selfless work of our working people, they are the fruit of the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party of Labor. In the realisation of these victories we have enjoyed also the internationalist aid and support of our class brothers. In particular, on the occasion of this red-letter day we hail the unreserved and fraternal aid which has been and is being given to our people for the building of socialism, by the great fraternal Chinese people, by the glorious Communist Party of China and the most beloved friend of our people, the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung. This aid provided us with the possibility of further developing our national economy, of successfully carrying onward the building of socialism. Our people are grateful to the fraternal Chinese people for this generous internationalist aid.

The Soviet revisionist renegades, although they realize that their blockade has been smashed to smithereens and that they have been unable to force Socialist Albania to her knees, express concern about the Albanian people for allegedly «being in straits»

and «marking time» since they have received no further «credits and aid» from the Soviet Union! But we say to them: «Don't lament over those who are in the saddle. We do not want your so-called aid which is poison and a trap to enslave the people. We have the great riches of our soil; we have the sweat, the vigor, the iron will and the resourcefulness of our talented people who are skilfully extracting and utilising these riches for their own well being and that of the cause of socialism. We have our glorious Party of Labor which is leading the country with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage on the road of socialist construction.» We say to the revisionists: «Your blockade, your brutal abrogation of economic agreements, your complete cessation supplying industrial equipment, your stealth of designs and blue-prints, your abandonment half way of the work begun, etc. may have hampered the implementation of third five-year plan at the start, but our national economy never stopped for a single moment its victorious march onward. It emerged triumphant over your impudent blockade.»

We say to them: «You are 'concerned' about our crude oil and the extraction of minerals? Don't worry! As compared with the year 1960 oil extraction in Albania has now grown by 80 per cent, whereas the production of copper ore is 4 times as large, and the same is true for chromium ore, coal, etc. Your wickedness, your mania for slander has overshadowed the logic of figures. You invent the tale that the power industry in Albania has allegedly lagged behind. Figures show, however, that, in comparison with 1960, the production of electric power is today 4,1 times as large. The Fieri thermal-station alone, built in these recent years, is 4 times as powerful as the Ulza hydro-power station. Are you 'worried' about the training of high cadres? Then take note that in 1960 we had only 4,245 highly trained specialists, whereas today about 14.000 such specialists are serving the people. You lament over the state of our agriculture? But we tell you that at no previous time have we ever had such great successes in agriculture as during this decade. In comparison with the year 1960, the wheat yield output has grown by 90,5 per cent; thus, it has almost doubled, whereas that of maize has increased 2,2 fold.

What do these facts show? They speak of the complete failure of the revisionist plot and the great victory of our heroic Party of Labor, the victory of Marxism-Leninism, also in the economic field. The collapse of the economic blockade, which is a brutal means of subjugation, testifies that the Albanian people

are invincible, that they do not kowtow under pressures of this kind, just as they are not intimidated by threats and sabre-rattling.

Historic experience, in general, the reality and struggle of our country, in particular, the magnificent successes achieved by socialist Albania during these 25 years, have once more confirmed the correctness of the great Leninist principle that the internal factor in revolution and in the building of socialism is the determining one, that in every action the people should rely on their own efforts. This, of course, does not exclude the sincere and disinterested internationalist aid of the socialist countries, of the international proletariat, of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples in the world.

During the National-liberation War, and relying on this principle, the Party aroused the whole people, for it was clear to us that freedom is not donated, but it is won through struggle, bloodshed and sacrifices. We ruthlessly exposed the deceptive maneuvrers of the Ballist and Zogist traitors, and of the British and U.S. imperialists who alleged that the struggle which our people were waging and the blood they were shedding were uncalled for, for the «allies» would bring to us a ready-made freedom. On the contrary, it was precisely the heroic struggle of the people themselves that gave them the possibility of taking their destinies into their own hands and establishing their own power, which made it possible to bar all the roads to imperialist intervention in the domestic affairs of our country for the purpose of bringing to power an anti-popular and pro-imperialist regime.

But while our forces were fighting on these mountains, our Party never thought of waging an isolated struggle, detached from the general antifascist front. Therefore, it integrated the National-liberation War of our people with that of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, and with that of all the peoples of the world who were fighting against nazifascism. We by no means under-rate, as the Soviet revisionist renegade liars allege, the important role played in the liberation of Europe and our Homeland by the great heroic liberation war of Stalin's Red Army which dealt the crushing blow to the fascist hordes and created very favorable conditions also for the development of the anti-fascist liberation struggle of our people.

Consistently and with determination, our Party applied the principle of relying on one's own efforts after liberation as well. We asked the Soviet Union and Stalin to help us develop and

build our country on socialist lines. Our request was just, pure, normal and internationalist. During Stalin's life time this assistance was given to Albania in an internationalist spirit. But our Party and our people did not sit with folded arms, for they never thought that socialism in our country would be built for us by our foreign friends. We set to work and with our own forces, which were the main factor, entirely changed the aspect of our long suffering Homeland.

This was our salvation and history showed how absolutely correct and vital was the Party directive of relying on our own efforts. As soon as the Khrushchevites came to power in the Soviet Union, the so-called credits and the few factories they gave us essentially changed their aim. Their «aid» was no longer internationalist, but had an enslaving character. The Khrushchevite renegades sought to make our country economically and politically fully dependent on them. They demanded that, for the sake of the so-called aid, we should renounce our sovereignty, that we should become their docile and servile supplicants, that we should approve without the least objection every anti-Marxist and anti-socialist word and attitude of theirs. But they were not well acquainted with the Albanians. It is not we, but they that sell themselves for money. When the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists came out in the open and our Party began the overt fight against it, not only were all the aid and credits completely cut off, but our country was compelled to cope also with the brutal revisionist economic and political blockade. With complete success it broke the revisionist attacks and continues to advance unwaveringly on the road of socialist construction, precisely because our Party has consistently followed the principle of relying on our own resources and has placed our national economy on a solid basis so that it stand now on its own feet.

The Soviet revisionist leaders and their docile servants frantically attack Albania because she upholds this principle. They consider this as narrow nationalism and describe us as «ungrateful», for we have allegedly forgotten the aid of the Soviet Union in the struggle for liberation and in socialist construction, for we dared to rise against their betrayal, for we dare to advance on the Marxist-Leninist road. They are repeating, over and over again from Moscow radio their claim that only they have fought, alleging that they have kept us alive with their economic aid, that if it were not for this aid we would have been extinguished. With the greatest brazenness they

negate and disparage the struggle of our people and of the other peoples for the destruction of fascism.

In this there is no trace of internationalism, there is nothing in common with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, with the teachings of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for all the peoples, big or small, make their contribution to the common cause of revolution, for internationalist aid and support between the peoples is reciprocal and not one-sided.

The detestable chauvinistic viewpoints of the Soviet revisionists raise still higher the objective, correct and internationalist assessment of our Party and of our socialist State which have, always and in due time, properly defined the character of every form of aid given to us. The character of the aid has been changed from internationalist to chauvinist, to enslaving and colonialist, by those that have given it and not by us who have received it, for it is they that have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, not we.

We, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, will never reconcile ourselves with modern revisionism, with the Moscow traitors, but shall fight until they are utterly crushed. There is and there will be friendship and unity between us and the fraternal Soviet peoples and the real Soviet bolsheviks of Lenin-Stalin.

In the future too, our Party will faithfully follow the Marxist-Leninist course of relying on our own resources, being convinced that the guarantee for still greater successes, in the defence of the country's freedom and independence as well as in the building of socialism and the continuous and sure raising of the well-being of the working people, consists in the correct implementation of this principle.

Comrades,

The establishment of our People's Rule throughout the country on the 29th of November, 1944, is the greatest victory in the centuries-long history of the Albanian people. The people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is their most powerful weapon in the struggle for the new, free and happy life — socialism and communism.

The outstanding merit of the Party is that it closely connected and integrated into a single whole, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for the destruction of the old, antipopular and reactionary State power, for the establishment of the

people's power. The Party never allowed the bourgeoisie and the landowners to rob the people of their power or that the blood they shed should have been shed in vain. With its greatest determination it barred the road to the interference of the British and U.S. imperialists in the internal affairs of our country. This consistent line resulted in that right after the liberation of the Homeland, there existed and acted in Albania only the new power, the people's power, which started to perform the functions of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the entire 25-year period, the Party has always had the question of the people's power, its preservation and consolidation in the center of its attention, unceasingly perfecting it. It has been guided consistently by Lenin's great teaching that it is easier to seize power than to keep it. Historic experience has fully confirmed this teaching, through both positive and negative examples. It has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established as a result of the victorious socialist revolution, but it can eventually be liquidated either through the armed or the «peaceful» revisionist counter-revolution. It could also happen that after having triumphed, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be seriously endangered, the State power could be partially usurped by counter-revolutionary elements, but later on, eventually the usurpers and their poisonous ideology could be upset and smashed in a revolutionary way, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be fully re-established and successfully defended. But the complete or partial loss of the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means an inevitable fate. Historic experience has proven, likewise, that, once established, it is fully possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be preserved always pure, intact and firm in all stances and directions, continually developing and becoming perfected.

This many-sided historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a precious treasure for all the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples, for all the countries that enter the road of socialism. It must be most carefully studied through the infallible prism of Marxism-Leninism, in order to draw valuable lessons of how to advance the cause of socialism in all countries on a reliable road and with the minimum of zigzags and sacrifices.

The road traversed by the dictatorship of the proletariat during these 25 years has not been smooth in our country either. This whole period has been permeated by a ruthless class struggle against the internal and external enemies, from the landlords

and merchants to the kulaks and various antisocialist elements, from the armed bands of diversionists and traitorous organizations of spies and saboteurs to the deviators in the Party ranks, from the various imperialists and Greek monarcho-fascists to the Titoist and Khrushchevite modern revisionists. The class struggle has been waged unceasingly amongst the people also, against all foreign influences which poison the consciousness of the working people. This class struggle against the enemies and in the ranks of the people has been carried out in all the fields and by the most diverse means — political and economic, ideological and cultural, military and administrative, through methods of coercion and persuasion. But whatever the field in which it has been waged, the class struggle has been, in the last analysis, a struggle over the question of state power. In the process of this fierce class struggle, our dictatorship of the proletariat has been threatened by many dangers, overt and covert, beginning with the attempts to upset it by armed force and ending with the danger of its bureaucratisation. But we have always been vigilant, struck down mercilessly and in due time all the attempts of the enemies and we averted the dangers. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country stood and is standing like a granite rock.

The Party has taken, is taking, and will take in the future, too, all the necessary measures for the all-round and continuous strengthening and perfecting of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It has strengthened and incessantly continues to strengthen the organs of the struggle against the enemy, in the first place the people's army and the State security forces — the most powerful weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historic experience has proved indisputably that the working class power grows out of the barrel of a gun and likewise can be defended by the gun. Without a powerful revolutionary army, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot stand and exist. Therefore, the Party and the Government have not only equipped the armed forces with most up-to-date means of war, but, above all, they have displayed and are displaying the greatest solicitude for their ideological and political moulding as a conscious weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party directives and measures for the establishment of a correct relationship between men and weapons in the army, placing man on the forefront as the determining factor in war; between political and military work, placing politics in command, between soldiers

and officers for the strengthening of their relations and the internal unity of the army, among rifle, pick and book in the army giving priority to the former — all these and other actual measures for the creation of Party committees and the designation of political commissars, for the abolition of rank and the strengthening of ties between the army and the people, are of great importance of principle and serve the further strengthening and revolutionisation of our people's army. These measures are decisive in preventing the degeneration of our people's army, of the State security armed service, in not allowing their transformation into blind tools in the hands of counter-revolution, as was the case in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where they are used to exert revisionist and social-fascist violence on the discontented people, or for the expansionist aims of Soviet revisionist imperialism.

Alongside the all-round strengthening of the people's army and the State security armed service, the Party and the people's power, as Karl Marx teaches us, have resolutely advanced on the road of the military preparation and arming of the whole people. This has not only made socialist Albania an unshakable granitic rock in face of whatever imperialist-revisionist aggression, but it also has a deep political and ideological meaning, for it represents a further perfecting of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it represents one of the most profound expressions of proletarian democracy in action, it testifies to the essentially popular character of the regime, to the people's boundless support for it. This is one of the most efficient ways for the patriotic and class-revolutionary education of the broad working masses. This means that the question of the defence of our Homeland and of our socialist order has become, and is becoming more and more of, a vital question of the whole people.

Especially important to the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the struggle which the Party has waged and is waging for the eradication of bureaucratic distortions which, as is known, served as one of the main bases of the emergence and spread of revisionism in the Soviet Union. The fight against bureaucracy is aimed at connecting the regime closely with the people, at placing it under the direct, effective and continuous control of the broad working masses, at the all-round development, the uninterrupted deepening and perfecting of socialist democracy. It also constitutes a sure guarantee that the dictatorship of the proletariat will never degenerate into a revisionist and bourgeois antipopular dictatorship,

that it will always be the powerful weapon of revolution and socialist construction.

All the revisionists have the word «socialist democracy» on the tips of their tongues and they speculate a great deal with it. This is a through-going fraud and brazen demagogery. Where the revisionists are ruling there is not and there cannot be democracy for the working people. Modern revisionism itself, in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, is based on the bureaucratisation of the whole national life, i.e. on the negation of democracy. Look what is happening in the revisionist countries! In face of the increased resistance of the popular masses towards the revisionist course, the revisionist «liberal» dictatorship is ever more having recourse to open fascist violence. In Czechoslovakia the socalled «democracy» of Husak and of his Moscovite bosses is expressed through most brutal reprisals against the patriotic Czechoslovak people.

Our Party has never regarded socialist democracy from an empty sentimental viewpoint nor as a vain adornment or merely a 'proforma' right of the working people. Consistently abiding by the principle of centralism, as an inevitable fundamental principle of any real proletarian dictatorship, it considers socialist democracy at the same time as a broader and more complete democracy for the working people, as an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for its preservation and continuous strengthening. Any one-sided stand on this great question of principle, any violation, either of the principle of proletarian centralism or of socialist democracy, is very dangerous to the socialist order.

The measures that have been taken for the eradication of harmful bureaucratic concepts and practices have greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, have broadened socialist democracy, have increased the broad creative initiative of the working people in all fields. Such are those for the strengthening of correct relations between the cadres and the working people, for the struggle against manifestations of bureaucratic centralism which strangles the initiative and individual action of the base, for the enhancement of the role and competences of the elected organs and men of the state power, the active participation of the workers and peasants with their opinions and actions in the solution of State problems, the purging of legislation of foreign influences and superfluous things and, above all, the strengthening of the direct control of the working class over everything and everybody.

But we do not think, and we absolutely must not think, that we have reached the climax, that there is no more room for the further development and deepening of the mass line and socialist democracy, that all the problems have been solved and that all the difficulties and obstacles have been removed in this field, that the struggle against bureaucratism has come to an end. There remains still much to be done. Relying on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we must further deepen many correct principles and democratic forms that have already been introduced into our life. We must always be looking for new and more perfect forms and means of socialists democracy. And especially, these must not remain a matter of form, theoretic speculations, but they should be fully carried out in practice, they should become an integral part of our daily social life, they should enter into the soul and blood of all the working people. This requires that the fight against bureaucratic concepts and obstacles, which are dangerous enemies of proletarian democracy, and which, unfortunately, exist and will continue to exist for a long time yet, should not be interrupted for a single moment, but it should be continued fiercely and firmly from above and, especially, from below, with the active participation of the broad working masses.

Above all we must always preserve intact and incessantly strengthen the undivided leadership of the Party in the socialist State. This is a firm basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an indispensable and fundamental condition of its existence. The idle talk of various revisionists about the «independence» of the socialist state from the proletarian party are their most flagrant departure from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and are aimed at justifying the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the future, too, we shall advance on the road of further strengthening the Party leadership in every cell of the regime and in our social life, as a whole continuously perfecting it, fighting and rejecting all and every manifestation of formalism and bureaucratism.

Comrades,

During the 25 years of free life of the Albanian people, their Party and Government, guided by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have pursued a thoroughly principled and consistent foreign policy. In every stage of the development of international relations this

policy has fully responded to the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, to the preservation of the gains of people's revolution. Our foreign policy has always been in the service of the great cause of the peoples who are struggling for socialism, for their freedom and national independence, for self-determination and the establishment of an international collaboration on equal rights.

Ever since her creation new people's Albania has continually clashed, in a fierce struggle, with the imperialists and their stooges who were seeking to dismember and enslave her. But our Party and our people, in a revolutionary steel-like unity have repeatedly foiled the criminal plots and beaten back the frantic attacks unleashed against our country by the U.S. and British imperialists and their running dogs.

Our people defended with self-denial and with courage their freedom and independence, the constructive work guaranteed by their State power. They courageously coped with all attempts of imperialism and international reaction to interfere in our domestic affairs, to force their dictate upon and subjugate us. Albania, which emerged from the people's revolution was not afraid of and did not retreat before the intrigues, blackmail and the campaigns of slander and denigration undertaken against her incessantly by her imperialist enemies and their tools. With her strong fist, she has smashed all armed provocations at her borders and foiled all attempts to organize and incite internal reaction against the people's regime. With wisdom and courage, our country defeated all the attempts of the imperialists and international reaction to encircle and isolate it from the outside world, with a view to more easily strangling and destroying it at a later stage.

The People's Republic of Albania was able to withstand all these upheavals and march victoriously onward, free and independent, on the road of socialism, for it was pursuing a principled revolutionary home and foreign policy, for it was defending a just cause on a correct course.

Our stand, our principled struggle against imperialism and world reaction, constitute a valuable experience which shows that the freedom and independence won by any people, the more so by those of a small country, can be defended only by a continuous struggle without compromise in any situation and circumstance. It also shows that only by fighting imperialism and

all reactionaries can the independent existence of the socialist state and the building of the new life be guaranteed.

Our struggle against imperialism has been an active struggle, part and parcel of the joint anti-imperialist struggle of all peoples. Our Party and the Government have condemned and exposed, at every time and at every step, the aggressive and warmongering policy and activity of U.S.-led imperialism, its oppressive and enslaving aims, thereby making their contribution to the defense of peace and international security.

Alongside the struggle against imperialism and reaction, our Party and our people have carried out a determined struggle of principle against Titoite revisionism — this rabid anti-Marxist trend, as well as against Khrushchevite revisionism — the greatest enemy of world communism. This struggle constitutes a glorious epic in the history of the Albanian Party and people. Although small in number, and alone at the beginning, we were not afraid to rise in unequal struggle against savage and powerful enemies when it was a question of defending Marxism-Leninism and communism, and we emerged victorious over them.

Our determination and courage in this clash of arms of world historic importance is not a consequence either of hot-bloodedness or of adventurism, or an expression of the specific nature of the Albanians, as the revisionists slanderously claim. They have come about as a result of the lofty revolutionary virtues of our Party, of its boundless loyalty to its people and to its world proletariat, of its Marxist-Leninist maturity. Our Party and our people bravely faced the revisionist counter-revolutionary trend, convinced that in this struggle they were defending not only the national interests of socialism in Albania from a serious threat, but also the interests of world proletariat and revolution. The difficulties we have surmounted and the sacrifices we have made during these 25 years in our uninterrupted struggle against revisionism have not been small. But we undertook this struggle for the sake of our socialist present and future, for the sake of the future of revolution and communism throughout the world.

Life, the victories scored in the struggle against modern revisionism, have fully justified the determined and principled stand of our Party towards the most dangerous opportunist and treacherous trend that world communism has ever met with. Without our struggle against revisionism it would never have been possible for us to carry out successfully our struggle against

imperialism, or to defend our freedom and national independence, to carry onward the victories of people's revolution.

World experience has very clearly proven that whoever pursues an opportunistic line, a line of concessions and capitulation on key questions of foreign policy and of international relations, such as the attitude towards revisionism, cannot fail to slip into opportunist and revisionist positions, he cannot fail to be oppressed sooner or later by the regressive and counter-revolutionary forces.

Among other very valuable lessons the long history of our clashes with the revisionists has taught, is that it has confirmed in a clearest and most understandable way the wellknown Leninist truth that in the struggle against opportunism, either internal or external, the only correct stand to take, the only correct course to pursue in order to achieve sure victory is a persistent principled struggle without any compromises and concessions whatsoever.

The Party of Labor of Albania, the Albanian people, will never stop half way in their fight against modern revisionism. Conscious of their lofty national and international duty, they will fight, as they have done so far, right to the end against the revisionist betrayal, till the complete triumph of the glorious cause of Marxism-Leninism and world revolution have been achieved.

Thanks to its heroic and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to its correct policy and attitudes in the field of international relations, the People's Republic of Albania has won for itself powerful and well-disposed friends throughout the world. It enjoys today the sympathy, respect and support of the genuine communists and revolutionaries, of all the progressive peoples and peace-loving countries.

A close fraternal, everlasting and unbreakable friendship binds the Albanian people with the Chinese people, the Party of Labor of Albania with the great Communist Party of China. It is based on the steel-like foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and there is no storm or tempest that can shake or bedim it. We are proud of having so powerful and loyal friends and allies as the Chinese people and their glorious Communist Party.

Our people rejoice at and wholeheartedly welcome the brilliant victories which the Chinese people, under the leadership of their Communist Party and of comrade Mao Tse-tung, have achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in all

fields. The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and directly led by the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung, was a great revolutionary tide which set in motion the multimillion masses of the working class, the laboring peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia, and purged China of the capitalist and revisionist filth, of all the reactionary elements in service of the class enemies, who wanted to turn the revolution back and surrender the country to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. China emerged from the great proletarian cultural revolution one-hundred times stronger than she was previously, the positions of socialism were still more deeply implanted into the Chinese soil, the People's Republic of China became invincible, it became a terror to its enemies.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, which crowned the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line of renegade Liu Shao-chi, still further strengthened the great and glorious Communist Party of China, its revolutionary unity, and opened bright prospects to the Chinese people for their socialist future.

The theoretical principles worked out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his thought, by which the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution was guided, constitute an outstanding creative contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Shedding light on the problems of the development of socialist revolution in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are a powerful weapon in the hands of the communists and revolutionaries of the world to promote the great cause of revolution and communism.

Our Party has pointed out on other occasions, and still continues to point out that support and backing for the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China is an important internationalist duty for all the revolutionaries in the world, that steel-like Marxist-Leninist solidarity with China is decisive for the fate of the revolution and of the liberation of the peoples.

New socialist Albania is entering the second quarter century of her free and independent existence with great international prestige and authority. She is contributing with all her might to and is playing a positive role in the process of world evolution. We view the development of the international situation with optimism, we firmly believe in the final victory of

world revolution, we have full confidence in the bright future of mankind.

The analysis of the present-day world events most convincingly proves that revolution is everywhere on the rise, the international situation is developing favourably for it and to the detriment of the imperialists and the revisionists.

The powerful waves of the world revolutionary movement are now rising on all the continents and are shaking the rotten system of capitalist exploitation, national oppression and colonial yoke to its foundations. The anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is assuming ever broader proportions. A brilliant example is the Vietnamese people's struggle which has inflicted thorough-going defeats on U.S. imperialism and has upset, once and for all, the myth of invincibility of the great power and of modern armaments. The flames of the revolutionary liberation struggle have spread to Laos and Thailand, to Burma and India, to Angola and Mozambique, to Colombia and Venezuela, etc. The Arab people are putting up a powerful resistance to the Israeli-imperialist aggression and the Palestinian partisans are heroically fighting for the liberation of their plundered hearths.

In Europe, in North America and in the developed capitalist countries, there has recently been noticed an upsurge of the revolutionary vigor which portends still greater class battles in the future. The big strikes of the workers and students in all the capitalist countries of Europe, their class struggles, have shaken the old bourgeois systems and have strengthened the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses. The United States of America, the bulwark of imperialism, is being scared to death by the widespread revolt of the black people.

Tens of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations have been and are being created in all the countries of the world. This irresistible revolutionary process testifies to the creation of a new situation in the ranks of the international working class, which is beginning to break the shackles social-democratic and revisionist parties have put on it, it is evidence to the fact that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are ever more permeating the minds and hearts of the broad working masses.

For the imperialists, revisionists, and all the other reactionaries the ground is sinking under their feet. Pinned down by the powerful revolutionary blows of the peoples, they are being ever more exposed and isolated. The contradictions, divisions and disputes between them are broadening and deepening. The U.S.

imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are faced with great and insurmountable difficulties in their efforts to keep their satellites under control. The centrifugal, polycentrist and separatist tendencies that are apparent in both camps, have created absolute chaos. The efforts of the «big two» to wrest the allies of each other have further increased the confusion.

There is no force on earth now that can stop the triumphant march of the people, there is no force that can avert the inevitable defeat of imperialism and revisionism.

However, contrary to the revisionists who seek to arouse pacifist illusions and to lull the masses to sleep, we, Marxist-leninists never forget that the antipopular and counter-revolutionary policy of imperialism far from being changed, has been still more intensified. Imperialism does everything in its power and throws in all its forces to strangle the revolution and socialism, to hold and consolidate the positions of reaction everywhere.

A new imperialism has now emerged on the world arena — the Soviet revisionist brand of imperialism with pretensions to world hegemony. This cannot fail to worsen the situation and make the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation more difficult.

All the regressive and reactionary forces of our time are headed by U.S. imperialism which is the worst enemy and exploiter of all the peoples, the bulwark of colonialism and the international gendarme of world reaction. The whole policy and activity of the United States of America is aimed at subjugating the entire world, at placing under its yoke, in the first place, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and at imposing the economic, political and military domination of U.S. imperialism on the whole of the capitalist world. Above all, the main objective of U.S. imperialism remains the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, the destruction of socialism.

By its very nature, U.S. imperialism cannot live long without oppressing other peoples, without markets, without plundering raw materials. In order to ensure these things, it has extended its military bases and has sent its troops to the four corners of the earth, it frames up plots and commits open military aggressions. Its greediness is insatiable. With its dollars it buys the consciences and minds of men, even among its allies, depriving them of cadres of technical intelligentsia, thereby creating further conditions to subjugate them.

In these conditions, there exists between U.S. imperialism and its global aggressive policy on the one hand, and the peoples and their liberation and anti-imperialist struggle on the other, a deep and irreconcilable contradiction which permeates the entire present-day world policy. It is for this reason that, the stand towards imperialism and, in the first place, towards U.S. imperialism, is the touch-stone for all the political forces in the world. In practice nobody can remain an outsider in the struggle which is being waged between imperialism and the revolutionary forces. The only question that arises with regard to each political force is to know what side it will take, what course it will choose. The peoples and the true revolutionaries have now clearly defined their stand. Their main strategic direction is the all-round, irreconcilable and consistent struggle right to the end against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The peoples of the world are uniting into a broad front against U.S.-led imperialism. The incessant strengthening of this front is today a vitally important historic duty for all the revolutionaries. But for this front to be consolidated and achieve final victory, it must not fail to carry out its struggle in two directions at the same time: against U.S. imperialism and against its ally — Soviet revisionism. Today the struggle against U.S. imperialism and that against Soviet revisionist imperialism are inseparable, they have become integrated into a single whole. It would be a very harmful and quite dangerous illusion if anyone were still to entertain illusions about the Khrushchevite revisionists and be hoodwinked by their «anti-imperialist» demagogery.

One of the distinctive features of the present-day international situation is the transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the growth of its aggressiveness and the intensification of its expansionist efforts. This is a natural and inevitable consequence of the transformation of the Soviet Union from a socialist into a capitalist country, of its abandonment of the internationalist Leninist policy and of its return to the old czarist, chauvinistic, great-Russian policy. The restored capitalist system could not fail to impose its barbarous laws, not only in the country's internal life, but also in its foreign policy. Foreign aggression has always complemented internal fascism.

The course chosen by the Soviet revisionists to achieve their predatory objectives is the old course of the czars and of the other imperialists, the course of deception and armed violence. Rubles and tanks, lies and blackmail, demagogery and

threats go hand in hand. But the more the Kremlin chiefs push ahead with their expansionist plans, the more difficult their internal situation and their relations with their satellites become, the more their military adventurism increases, the more armed aggression comes to the forefront as a means to overcome difficulties and contradictions. Life has confirmed with incontestable facts that our Party was quite right when, from the very beginning, it publicly exposed the imperialist nature of the Soviet renegade leadership. The occupation of Czechoslovakia is an example which reveals the whole rottenness and degeneration of the ruling clique in the Soviet Union, which brings into relief its real imperialist countenance, as a sworn enemy of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia was not an isolated case, nor a unique event which cannot be repeated, but the first manifestation of the practical application of a fascist-styled aggressive and chauvinistic policy, a starting-point for still greater adventures against the freedom and independence of other peoples. It is a fact that at the same time with the occupation of Czechoslovakia the Soviets carried out in quiet also the strengthening of their military occupation forces in Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Mongolia, where fresh Soviet troops were rushed in to preserve the imperial order of the Moscow revisionists. It is a fact that now the threats of the Soviet revisionists towards Rumania's independence have assumed very concrete character and the plans and aims to attack Yugoslavia and Albania are no longer kept secret.

The expansionist great-Russian policy of the Soviet revisionist-imperialists is very clearly expressed also in the armed provocations which they have carried out along their borders with China. They have now concentrated numerous troops in their Eastern provinces. They have increased their military arsenal and are heading for an aggressive war against the People's Republic of China. How far the madness of the adventurers now ruling in the Kremlin will go, this no one knows. One thing, however, is certain: Should they ever attempt to test their strength against the Chinese giant, this will be their undoing. The Soviet revisionists will be completely and utterly destroyed.

In order to carry out their expansionist aims, the Soviet leaders are now resorting to the Warsaw Treaty which they have turned into an instrument of oppression and aggression. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania denounced the

Warsaw Treaty for political, military and ideological reasons, because its character and aim had changed. From a treaty set up for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist states, for the defence of the peoples and peace, it was transformed into a treaty for the enslavement of its member countries and into a means of the dangerous Soviet imperialist plot against the peoples and international security.

In these conditions, to remain in the Warsaw Treaty would mean to approve the aggressive actions and aims of this treaty, to support and become partners of an imperialist power, to approve the aggression against Czechoslovakia and the other predatory plans of the Soviet revisionists. If we had remained in this treaty, we would not have been Marxists. Leninism teaches us that the communists must never allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the «socialist» slogans with which the aggressors camouflage themselves, they must never become defenders of imperialism, whatever the colour and form in which it may appear. To act otherwise means to fall into the opportunist positions of the traitors of the second Internationale, who spread illusions about imperialism and shortly afterwards became its open collaborators and social-chauvinists. Reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists, allegedly on behalf of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, means to become a supporter of an imperialism which is just as savage and barbarous as the other, it means to become a collaborator of one imperialism against another imperialism in their struggle for superiority, zones of influence and world domination.

In their efforts to dominate and to plunder the peoples of their riches, the Soviet revisionists are even trying to justify «theoretically» their policy of great-state chauvinism, to present it as Marxist-Leninist, as the acme of proletarian internationalism. In a word, they seek to disguise the wolf under a lambskin. Such is the ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty» set forth by the arch-revisionist Brezhnev, by which the Soviet revisionists want to secure for themselves the right to interfere in and occupy other countries. Through this reactionary theory, they seek to compel others to betray and trample underfoot the purest and highest aspirations cherished by nations and peoples to safeguard their freedom and defend their sovereignty, they try to have them capitulate and, thus, pave the way to Soviet revisionist occupation. Painting it in Marxist colors, the Soviet revisionists aim, likewise, to extend their imperialist theory to the communist movement, as well to compel the other parties to

give up their independence and submit to the conductor's baton of Moscow in everything, thus becoming an appendage of the Soviet foreign policy.

But such detestable fascist theories do not hold water. The defence of the sovereignty and independence of the socialist, as well as of all the other countries from imperialism or from any other enemy, can be realized not by limiting them or by leaving them in the hands of the revisionist wolves, but by waging an uninterrupted battle against imperialism and revisionism on all questions. Never can a country be sovereign, and less so a socialist one, when it is completely enslaved or partly occupied by an imperialist or chauvinist great power. It enjoys its sovereignty and independence only when it implements a resolute line for the defence of the just principles of freedom, independence and sovereignty, relying on its own efforts and on the internationalist solidarity of the international working class and of the revolutionary peoples.

Now a great responsibility rests on the Soviet people. They must not allow themselves to be deceived by the fascist propaganda with which the revisionist renegades are seeking to poison their minds. The Khrushchevite leaders are trying to confuse them, to incite their basest nationalist and chauvinist feelings, in order to turn them into an obedient mass which will blindly carry out their adventurous plans. We hope that the Soviet people have not forgotten the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, that the spirit of communism and internationalist solidarity is always alive in their hearts. We believe that the Soviet soldier who crossed Europe and fought in Asia to destroy fascism and to bring freedom to the peoples, will not take this road for the second time in order to rob other peoples of their freedom and to establish the new revisionist brand of fascism. It is against the usurper's clique that he should use the weapons given to him to enslave others so that he may restore his country's former glory, its name and honor which the traitors and renegades have trampled underfoot.

The freedom and independence of all the peoples, peace and international security are now endangered by the Soviet-U.S. imperialist block. Today this block represents the blackest reaction, most perfidious and most dangerous counter-revolutionary force ever known to mankind.

The Soviet-U.S. «holy alliance» is now developing to unprecedented proportions in all the fields — economic, political and military. The two super powers need each other's help for the

realization of their hegemonic and dominating aims and continually coordinate their plans and activities in compliance with their global strategy for the domination of the world. They are preparing and carrying out various predatory wars through which they seek to keep the peoples under their bondage, to suppress revolution.

Of course, as insatiable imperialist powers, the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union also have great contradictions between them, they contend with each other and each plans to liquidate the other. The system of the Soviet-U.S. alliances, being essentially a counter-revolutionary one, not only does not exclude but includes in its essence divisions, disputes and contradictions which do not allow them to act in harmony and unity. When these contradictions reach their climax, when the question arises for the redivision of each other's zones of influence, they can even break into armed conflicts between them. But at present the counter-revolutionary alliance is at a stage of consolidation and expansion. That which unites them today is more important than what divides them. In the first place, in order to survive, to preserve their great empires, to keep their positions of super-powers, both sides are compelled to draw nearer to each other and to collaborate, making their struggle against revolution, socialism and the liberation efforts of the peoples a basis for safeguarding their system, their fundamental for the realization of their expansionist and enslaving strategy.

In the present conjuncture, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism are trying to come to terms without encroaching upon each other's own domain, to keep their European satellites well under control, to play down their imperialist disputes and contradictions so as to clear the field for throwing themselves with all their might into the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples, and what is essential for them, to spearhead their joint struggle against great People's China, the impregnable bastion of Marxism-Leninism and of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists strive now to encircle China with a ring of fire and then to quell down the Chinese revolution and to destroy the People's Republic of China. It is for this purpose that the Washington administrations with Truman, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Dulles and ending with Johnson and Nixon have been working day and night for twenty years in succession. They concentrated immense military

forces in the Pacific, they signed one pact after another with their Asian puppets and stepped up their large-scale military provocations to test the resistance of the Chinese fortress. But great People's China stood firm and, with its strong fist, smashed all the attempts of U.S. imperialism to test their strength. The same fate lies in store also for the new joint imperialist-revisionist plans and efforts against the People's Republic of China.

One of the distinctive features of the present international situation is the fact that the world proletariat is becoming conscious of its strength. The working masses who are languishing under the capitalist and revisionist yoke are discovering and getting better and better acquainted with the cause of their plight and are rejecting with contempt the demagogic and cynicism of the ruling classes. Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering ideology of scientific socialism, is even better inspiring the world proletariat, blazing the road to the oppressed masses to revolt.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to keep things quiet, to preserve the status quo and their alliances. But the peoples, the revolutionaries, all those who hate oppression and exploitation, do not want the sort of peace the imperialists and revisionists are seeking to force upon the world, they do not want a reactionary status quo which only consolidates the division of the world between the two imperialist super powers, they are opposed to counterrevolutionary alliances which are aimed at enslaving the peoples, at depriving them of their freedom and independence.

The imperialists and revisionists are loudly advertising their so-called peaceful coexistence; but the people, the revolutionaries reject with contempt this monstrous fraud which aims at sanctioning the imperialist rule in the world, at quelling the revolutionary struggles and at permitting them to carry out their aggressive, predatory wars. The people and revolutionaries stand for the peaceful coexistence proclaimed by Lenin, which can never be extended to the sphere of ideology, the class struggle and revolution and liberation struggles. They resolutely reject, likewise, the bluff of «total disarmament» which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are advertising and which is aimed at disarming others before the imperialist-revisionist aggressors, at preserving the nuclear monopoly for themselves and at increasing their armaments.

The savage capitalist exploitation, whether U.S. imperialist or Soviet revisionist, is equally intolerable to the peoples, who are fighting and will fight with still more determination to get

rid of. The greatest class antagonism of our time is that which exists between the imperialist-revisionists, on the one hand, and the peoples, on the other. It keeps sharpening and is expressed in the big class battles on a national and international scale, which are being carried out with much success in favor of the peoples.

Irrespective of the zigzags of the present world developments, the future belongs to revolution, to socialism. It is a fact that the world proletariat is being convinced from the experience of its daily struggle that, in order to build a new world free of oppressors and exploiters, it must first destroy the old world to its foundations, a thing which can be done only in a revolutionary way, through armed violence.

Certainly, the world revolution will not break out nor will it win in the course of one day. The struggle will be a protracted and arduous one and will require many sacrifices, but the idea of revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will follow its onward course nonstop. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the world proletariat will certainly perform its lofty historic mission, it will know how to cope bravely with the open and underhand attacks of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist lackeys, it will know how to carry through to the end the cause of socialism and communism.

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, tirelessly working for the building of socialism in their country, follow attentively and with keen vigilance the development of the present-world situation. At the same time, they carry out a broad activity in the field of international relations, in accord with the correct revolutionary principles of our foreign policy.

Our Party and Government, just as they have done so far, will strengthen in the future, too, their relation of friendship, collaboration and fraternal mutual aid with the socialist countries with which we are united by our common ideals of socialism and communism, by our common aims and struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Today new Albania represents an important factor of peace and progress in the world. She has implemented and continues to implement in a principled and persistent manner her policy of good neighborhood and of normal relations between states of different social systems, based on the principles of noninterference and respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Albanian people have been and will always be on the side of the peoples and will give their firm support to all the revolutionary forces fighting for national and social liberation, for building a new world free of capitalists and colonialists, to all those fighting for the sacred cause of freedom, independence and social progress.

The U.S. imperialist aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam has been continuing for 10 years now. Even though the U.S. imperialists have actually lost the war on the battle-field and have been discredited before the eyes of the whole world, they have not given up their efforts to force the Vietnamese people to their knees, to enslave them and to turn their country into a base for new aggressions against the peoples of South-east and all Asia.

Aided by the Soviet revisionists, who have exerted all their efforts to save their U.S. allies from their inevitable defeat as a compensation for their «correct» stand towards the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the U.S. aggressors are now doing everything in their power to achieve at the conference table what they have been unable to achieve by means of arms.

But the Vietnamese people, who by their courage, wisdom and clarity have overcome situations more difficult than the present one, will know how to cope with the frauds of the imperialists and with the pressures of those who pose as their friends but who stab them in their back. They have never been forced to their knees and their long experience of revolutionary struggle has taught them that complete and sure victory over the aggressors can be achieved through an armed tit-for-tat struggle against their enemies.

The Albanian people have been and will always be at one with the just revolutionary liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, they have supported and will resolutely support their legitimate aspirations to freedom and national independence and the unification of their arbitrarily divided homeland.

Czechoslovakia is languishing under the unbearable occupation of the Soviet revisionists. The new occupationists are suppressing by fire and sword the Czechoslovak people's will and efforts to win back their freedom and national independence which have been trampled underfoot, to defend their violated honor and dignity. But Czechoslovakia has become a gangrenous wound for the Soviet revisionist occupationists, she has become the pillory the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade ruling clique at the Kremlin has been set in at present. The traitorous Czechos-

lovak rulers and the slavish pledges they have made to the occupationists, the endless visits of marshals and quislings from Prague to Moscow and viceversa cannot save the situation.

The Czechoslovak people are demonstrating to the whole world that neither treachery, nor the regime of terror, neither fraud nor emergency laws can stop their resistance, their lawful liberation struggle. Nothing can suppress the Czechoslovak people's ideals of freedom and independence, of revolution and socialism, which they preserve in their hearts, nothing can quell down their desire and determination to fight by all means and in every way until complete victory has been achieved.

Just as we condemned the August 21 occupation of Czechoslovakia, we express with the same determination our solidarity with and our deep fraternal sympathy for the Czechoslovak people. We have been and will always be on their side in the legitimate liberation struggle they are waging against the revisionist occupationists and local traitors.

The Albanian people have supported and will support the just struggle of the fraternal Arab people against the Israeli-imperialist aggression. Despite the great difficulties that have arisen for the Arab people, not only as a result of the occupation of their territories by Israel and of the continuation of its aggression, but also due to the interference of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist imperialists in this conflict, we firmly believe that the final victory will belong to the Arab people.

The two imperialist super powers, seeking to attribute to themselves the right of an arbitrator in the Middle East, are the most savage enemies of the Arab people. They want to introduce the conflict which has broken out in this area into the framework of their bargainings to divide the spheres of influences, to take possession of the great riches of the Middle East and of the strategic positions of this zone. They are seeking to force upon the Palestinian people, whose armed struggle is an important factor for the restoration of their rights and the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel, and upon all the Arabs solutions which run counter to the national interests of the Arab people and which create conditions which would cost them their freedom and independence and place them under the yoke of neocolonialism.

The Arab people are able to solve their problems themselves and to give Israel what it deserves. And they can certainly achieve this, relying in the first place on their own forces and on the support of their real friends — the revolutionary peoples, all the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist forces.

Recently, the Soviet revisionists and some West European countries, behind which stands the United States of America, have been making a fuss and drafting plans about a certain socalled European security. That there is need for security for the countries on our continent, this is true. But first it should be explained, who should be secured and from whom. The «European security» which is demanded by the Soviet revisionists and backed up by the U.S. imperialists means security for their zones of influence in Europe, security for their military bases and for the right of their fleets to control the European sea-coasts, it means that the peoples of Europe should legally and officially recognize Moscow's and Washington's right to special privileges of imperialist and colonialist character they enjoy in various European countries. Such a security means, in final analysis, to preserve and perpetuate in Europe the status quo of the Soviet-U.S. domination, to ensure tranquillity on this continent so that the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists may have a free hand to act as they choose in Asia, Africa and everywhere else to subjugate and enslave the peoples, to strengthen the exploiting capitalist regime both at home and in their respective empires.

The peoples of Europe abhor such a «security» and will never accept it. They cannot allow themselves to fall into the diabolical traps which are being laid by the imperialist great powers, they cannot leave their destinies to the mercy of the American and Soviet chiefs, they will not permit themselves to become cannon-fooder in carrying out the Soviet-U.S. plans for world domination. They are being threatened by U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism, and it is precisely against these that real European security should be directed.

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, who have bravely and in a revolutionary way repulsed frantic imperialist and revisionist attacks, are convinced that despite the efforts they are making, neither U.S. imperialism nor Soviet revisionism nor both of them, are in a position to change the general course of world history, which will inevitably lead to the complete defeat of imperialism and revisionism and to the triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries.

Comrades,

All the great historic victories achieved by our people during these twenty five years are due to the correct, wise and de-

terminated Marxist-Leninist leadership of their glorious Party of Labor.

It was the Party that aroused the people in the National-liberation War against the fascist occupationists and traitors, that led them to final victory, that made possible the overthrow of the reactionary exploiting classes and the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Thanks to the correct line and resolute stand of the Party, the hard-won freedom was preserved and strengthened, all doors were shut to imperialist interference, and the country's independent economic, political and social development on the road of socialism was ensured. The Party stood always on the forefront of the people's gigantic efforts to overcome the terrible backwardness inherited from the past, it correctly directed and led them in their struggle for the building of socialism. To the correct leadership of the Party of Labor, to its unshakable loyalty towards the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism, is due the failure of the attempts of all the enemies, open and underhand, in particular of the Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionists, to turn our people away from the bright road of socialism.

The brilliant balance-sheet of victories with which our people come to this great jubilee is at the same time a balance-sheet of the struggle, work and activity of the Party of Labor of Albania. That is the most eloquent proof of the always correct Marxist-Leninist line which it has pursued in all the stages.

Therefore, our people are linked with their Party of Labour like flesh to bone. They see in the Party leadership the source of all their victories, the safeguard of their vital interest and their most reliable guarantee for future victories, for the complete and final triumph of socialism and communism.

The strength and invincibility of our people in the face of all the tests of history, however severe they may have been, rests in their monolithic unity around the Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party in any situation rests in its indissoluble ties with the people, in the boundless support the people gives to it. In this steel-like party-people unity rests the strength and invincibility of our socialist Homeland in the face of any danger. Let us preserve this militant unity like the apple of our eye and let us strengthen it ever more!

The magnificent victories of these 25 years, particularly the very good results which are being achieved during the 4th five year plan period, have created a solid foundation for new and still greater successes on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

An important stride on this road will be made under the new five-year plan, 1971-1975, the main objectives of which have, in general lines, been crystallized by the Party and the Government.

The 5th five-year plan will be one of a new qualitative rise in the general development of the country's productive forces. That will be the five-year plan of the development in depth and of the further intensification of industry, through the deep processing of minerals and oil, of the extension and strengthening of all its branches, especially of the machine-building, chemical, electric power, building materials and other branches. New branches of industry will be created, such as the industry of iron-nickel metallurgy, the steel production industry and other branches of the chemical industry which are of exceptional importance to the independent development of our national economy, to a better and more complete exploitation of our natural resources. Thus, the role of industry in the development of all the other economic branches will increase further.

This five-year plan will be at the same time the plan of the greatest intensification of agriculture, of the further increase of agricultural and livestock products. It will raise mechanisation of agriculture to a higher degree, it will greatly increase labor productivity, it will be the five-year plan of big and numerous irrigation works, especially in the hilly and mountainous areas, so that in the not distant future the overwhelming part of the cultivated land area will be brought under irrigation.

On the basis of the all-round and rapid development of the socialist economy and of the deepening of the ideological and political revolution, an appreciable rise of the living standards of the working masses will be achieved.

Under the 5th five-year plan another important forward stride will be made on the road of the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture, between mental and manual work, towards the complete building of the socialist society.

The prospects are clear, the future of our people and of our Homeland is bright. Today we are already seeing the contours of our happier future taking shape in vivid colors.

The magnificent successes we have achieved and the brilliant prospects that are open to our country fill us with revolutionary optimism and increase tenfold our faith in our own forces.

Inspired by this wonderful situation, under the tried and tested unwavering Marxist-Leninist leadership of the glorious Party of Labor, let us always proudly hold high the red banner of revolution and socialism in our beloved Homeland and lead it forward, always forward, towards the new peaks of socialism and communism!

— Long live the glorious 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution!

— May our wonderful people, who are marching fearlessly on the road of socialism, live in centuries!

— Glory to the Party of Labor of Albania, the beloved leader and organizer of all the victories of our people!

— Glory to all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

MEHMET SHEHU

*Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of PLA and
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA*

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MASS RALLY OF THE WORKERS OF THE CITY OF BERAT IN COM- MEMORATION OF THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2nd MEETING OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NA- TIONAL-LIBERATION COUNCIL

Dear Comrades!

People of Berat!

In the atmosphere of joy and enthusiasm of the great jubilee, the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution, the Albanian people commemorate today one of the most memorable dates of their glorious epic of the National-liberation War, the 25th anniversary of the formation of the First Democratic Government headed by the leader of our people and Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In October 1944, when the general armed uprising of the people led by the Party had spread throughout the country and more than three-fourths of our land had been liberated from the yoke of the nazi and the traitors to the country, the 2nd Meeting of the General Anti-fascist National-liberation Council was called here in Berat. Carrying out the basic tasks set by the Congress of Permet, that historic Meeting decided to turn the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council into the Democratic Government of Albania and passed the fundamental law on the National-liberation Councils and the «Bill of Right of Citizens» which laid the legal and constituent foundations of the new State of People's Democracy in Albania.

The formation of the Democratic Government of Albania in Berat expressed the will of our people in arms, achieving the major goal of their armed struggle to set up People's Power which would serve the people and remain true to the end to their high interests.

Our People's Power emerged from the nozzle of the gun. Its foundation was cemented with the blood of thousands of martyrs, the most glorious sons and daughters of our people who laid down their lives for the liberation of our Homeland, the freedom of the people and the triumph of our people's revolution. At this great anniversary, the thoughts and hearts of the Albanian people turn with respect and pride to these heroes of freedom who made their supreme sacrifice for the high interests of the people. The flame they kindled with their rifles of freedom will blaze the trail of our people to socialism and communism as an eternal torch. Their sacrifice will be remembered for centuries. Everlasting honor and glory to the best sons and daughters of our people who fell as martyrs in battle-fields for the liberation of the country and the freedom of our people!

At this great anniversary, the thoughts and hearts of the Albanian people turn also with pride to our legendary partisans, to the storm brigades of our National-liberation Army which, carrying out with exemplary determination the militant line of the Party under orders from our Supreme Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, continued the work of the martyrs fallen in the field of battle, avenging them hundredfold fighting at daggers drawn against the Italian fascists, the German nazis and the traitors to the country, until the Homeland was liberated, the people won their freedom and the People's Rule was established all over the territory of Albania. Glory for aye to our National-liberation Army, its legendary heroism, its boundless loyalty to the people and Party, its high revolutionary combative spirit!

Past centuries had wrapped us in their merciless obscurity, yet no enemy had ever seen an Albanian turn his back and touch ground with his knee. The day of freedom for the Albanian people dawned on November 8, 1941, on that historic day when, in the heat of battle against invaders, the glorious Albanian Communist Party was founded by Comrade Enver Hoxha and took over, before the people and history, the major and glorious task of leading the Albanian people in their legendary battles to free the Homeland, to ensure the victory of the

people, to set up the People's Rule and to lead the country to socialism and communism. Had it not been for the Albanian Communist Party (now the Party of Labor of Albania) the National-liberation War of the people would not have been crowned with success, Albania today would not have been free and the exploiting class and foreign capital would have held sway here.

The Party imparted light to the people, awakened them, blazed their trail to freedom, aroused, organized and led them with consummate revolutionary skill through all the hard and heroic struggle which was crowned with the complete liberation of the country from the foreign nazi-fascist yoke, from the exploiting classes serving the foreign invaders, and with the establishment of People's Rule. Our Party is gloriously leading our people in their struggle to complete the building of socialist society, it has turned Albania into an unconquerable bastion of socialism in the heart of imperialist and revisionist Europe, it is the greatest guarantee for our long-suffering people never to be plunged back into slavery, for our triumphant march never to be stopped but to forge always ahead on the glorious road to socialism and communism. Glory through centuries to the Party of Labor of Albania, organizer and a guarantee of all the achievements of the Albanian people, loyal to the end to the people, to revolution, to Marxism-Leninism!

The 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council 25 years ago in Berat, and the historic decisions which were taken at that Meeting, were the result of the correct application of the line of our Party, of its strategy and tactics during the period of the National-liberation War. Right from the beginning of its existence, guided by Marxist-Leninist science, our Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha in the lead considered the question of State Power a fundamental question of the war against foreign invaders and of the people's revolution. In no case has our Party allowed sharing the leadership of the National-liberation War and, consequently, sharing State Power with the representatives of the feudal and bourgeois exploiting classes which had been lumped together in the traitorous organizations of the Balli Kombëtar (=National Front) and Legaliteti (=Legality) in the service of the occupationists. Our Party has always kept high the revolutionary vigilance of the people and has hit hard and exposed any manifestation of wavering and compromise with the enemy in this respect.

Taking a revolutionary road and never slipping back to compromises with the enemies of the people, the new Political Regime, which had come to being and had waved strong in the heat of battle during the people's revolutionary war, brought about the complete assumption of the reins of State by the revolutionary forces of the country with the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, as the sole leadership. It is precisely this historical reality that the Berat Meeting sanctioned with the formation of the Democratic Government of Albania as the highest executive organ of this new Regime which with the complete liberation of the country after November 29, 1944, began at once to exercise the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the State of the People's Democracy.

The formation of the Democratic Government in Berat marked a historical turning point in the political and social life of our people and our country, the beginning of a new epoch, the epoch of the domination of People's Power in our country and the collapse for all time of the domination of the beys and agas, of the local and foreign capitalists.

Comrades!

During this short historical period since the proclamation of the formation of the Democratic Government, the first real Democratic Goverment in the history of the Albanian people, to this day, the Albanian people guided by our Party of Labor headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha have brought about deep revolutionary transformations in all the fields of political, ideological, social, economic and cultural life.

In our country we have already done away with feudal and capitalist relations, with the exploiting class as such leaving us to deal only with the survivals of these classes, we have already done away with exploitation of man by man. Everywhere in Albania, both in town and in the countryside, there have been established socialist relations in production and in life. Albania has turned from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial one with a speedily developing industry, with a completely collectivized agriculture well on the way to its intensification, with socialist education and culture in the service of the people, with standards of living brooking no comparison with the past, with an indomitable defensive potential, with

an indisputable international authority, with brilliant prospects of development in all the phases of life.

All the magnificent achievements in revolution and socialist construction have been attained by our people relying on their own efforts through tireless work, through self-denying efforts and heroic struggle to surmount all obstacles and hardships created by the deplorable backwardness we had inherited, by the unparalleled war devastations, by the undermining activity of our enemies, by imperialist and revisionist encirclement, pressures and blockades.

The road we have traversed during the period from the Berat Meeting to this day has not been a smooth but a rough, a very rough one. These have been 25 years of bitter and continuous struggle with both local class enemies and many and powerful foreign enemies. The bitter class struggle we have waged with great success on a national as well as international level has characterized all this 25-year period of our life.

As far back as the Berat meeting of the Party Central Committee in October 1944, the Yugoslav revisionists and their agents within our ranks launched an attack with a view to sabotage our struggle, to compel us to share power with the bourgeoisie, to curb the revolutionary will of our Party and people. But our Party extricated itself from that sinister plot. And it did so because, during those days in Berat when the destiny of our people was in the balance, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended with heroism the correct line of our Party and did not allow the higher interests of our people and Homeland to be trampled underfoot by the Yugoslav revisionist leadership.

We have had to wage a tit-for-tat struggle at every step of our forward march against the hostile work of imperialism and revisionism, with their persistent and diabolic attempts to smother socialist Albania through espionage and subversion, through plots and provocations. We have had to wage a hard struggle also with Khrushchev's Soviet revisionist leadership. Legendary is the bitter principled and consistent battle of our Party and people with Khrushchev's Soviet revisionist leadership and now with the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique and other revisionists who have tried by all manner of means in their power to force our Party and people to their knees with the ultimate objective to deprive the Albanian people of their freedom just as they deprived the Czechoslovak people of their freedom.

But all these attempts, endeavors, schemes and plots of our

enemies have met with and will meet failure in the days to come, too, because in Albania there reign the free and independent Albanian people who are led by our glorious Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the helm which holds high the unstained banner of Marxism-Leninism and which no enemy or danger can scare, because people and Party with us are united and stand unshaken like our mountains, the eye of the Party sees far and wide like the eye of eagles and we are prepared to shower bullets into the mouth of any one who would dare to encroach upon our sacred boundaries, to raise his hand against the freedom of the people and our socialist Homeland.

We come to the jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland as revolutionaries triumphing over any hardship, any enemy, with the banner of Marxism-Leninism flying high and proudly, with many friends, many achievements, with unshaken confidence in the happy socialist and communist future in our country and in the world.

The Party, which is the strategist of all the victories of our people, has drawn historic conclusions and lessons from the revisionist tragedy, from the Soviet tragedy. It is clearly aware how and why the Soviet Union turned from the first socialist country in the world into a socialist-imperialist one. Our Party holds the key to ultimate victory, because it has grasped the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the theory and practice of armed uprising, of revolution and socialist construction in our country as well as the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement; it knows where it is heading for and through which paths it should pass and to which destination it should arrive. No one will stop its revolutionary march, for it will overcome all adversities and obstacles. Here in the People's Republic of Albania there will never be room for imperialism or revisionism, there will be room here for socialism and communism alone.

The consolidation of our People's Power, the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the main concern of our Party. The consistent application of the line of the masses, the all-round development of the initiative and independent creative activity of the workers, the rapid spread of mass revolutionary movements, a frontal battle to uproot any bureaucratic distortions, the integration of cadres with the laboring masses, the consistent and complete implementation of workers' control — all these are daily perfecting and further strengthening our People's Power, our proletarian democracy in action.

Our Party attaches special concern to the all-round revolutionary Marxist-Leninist formation of the new man of high moral virtues and revolutionary spirit, of courage bordering on self-denial towards the cause of revolution and socialism, to training the younger generation to become capable of taking into their hands the torch of revolution and perpetuating socialism and communism in Albania.

Our working class, the cooperative peasantry, people's intelligentsia, our youth, army, all of us, — builders of socialism, — feel happy and are proud that our esteemed and glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, stands at the head of our Party and people. May the founder of our beloved Party, our People's Army, our People's Power, the loyal and great son of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha live as long as our Mt. Tomori!

Dear Comrades!

Today, 25 years after the formation of our Democratic Government in Berat, the international situation has changed a good deal from that of that time. The cause of revolution and people's liberation has made headway while U.S.-led imperialism is rotting all around and heading for its grave. But the nearer imperialism approaches its end, the more ferocious it becomes. Like a heavily wounded beast which sees its end approaching, U.S. imperialism hits and tears off whatever and wherever it can of the freedom of peoples and sovereignty of nations, undermines and blows up whatever it can wherever the seeds of revolution are sprouting, wherever socialism is in full bloom. The great revisionist plot in the Soviet Union and in a number of other countries is the product of this final tooth and nail struggle of imperialism to prolong its own life. Throughout its history, the world imperialist system has never reaped on any battlefield such benefits as those brought to it by the revisionist group of Nikita Khrushchev by turning the Soviet Union from a socialist to a social-imperialist country. The Soviet Union, which used to be the glorious Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, the first socialist country and the main revolutionary force of the socialist system in the world, is no longer what it was many years ago: today, the Soviet Union is ruled by a clique of renegades and traitors, by Brezhnev, Kosygin and others, each more dangerous than the other, and this clique of Khrushchevite revisionist traitors have turned the Soviet Union from a

socialist to a capitalist country allied to U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism, the main imperialist force embodying the most dangerous regress and obscurantism of our days and the present-day Soviet Union which has become the main force of modern revisionism and has turned into a social-imperialist State, these two major imperialist Powers are in close collusion with each other in order to do away with socialism where it has struck root, to restrain the revolution where the conditions are ripe for revolution, to suppress revolutionary thought and action where it appears, to suppress the revolutionary movements in all continents with the ultimate objective of dominating the world on the basis of dividing the spheres of influence between them.

Today, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is mapped out in the offices of militarist marshals intoxicated with Great Russian megalomania who consider the State political borders of others as mere geographical symbols devoid of any political or social significance. In the vassal countries of the Soviet Union where revisionist Quislings hold sway there is no longer freedom, democracy and socialism; Grechko's and Yakubovsky's divisions are stationed there for the purpose of oppressing the people, of making the law at the point of the bayonet and at the nozzle of tanks. The occupation of Czechoslovakia exposed the Kremlin revisionist clique before the whole world, it marked the open emergence of the Soviet Union on the international arena as an imperialist Power which is prepared to resort even to Hitler's methods in order to suppress the freedom of peoples.

Today, world peace and freedom of peoples are greatly imperilled by the U.S. — Soviet collusion. The main arrows of this counter-revolutionary collusion are spearheaded towards great People's China because Mao Tsetung's China has become the most powerful and indomitable bastion of world revolution, the insurmountable mountain fastness for the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. And if the U.S. imperialists or Soviet revisionists, singly or together, would dare encroach upon People's China which is guided by the thought of the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tsetung, they will meet with certain, complete and final defeat. We Albanians are proud to have such a great and powerful ally loyal to Marxism-Leninism as the great, 700 million-strong China.

But the Soviet tragedy is a temporary one. We are fully convinced that the day will come when the great Soviet people will seize again Lenin's and Stalin's banner which the Khrush-

chevite revisionists have hurled into mud and will rise up in revolution in order to overthrow the new bourgeoisie, in order to do away with everything revisionist in the Soviet Union and to turn the Soviet Union back to the path of socialism and communism, as Lenin and Stalin wished, as we and all the revolutionaries the world over wish it to be. This is inevitable and is bound to take place not only in the Soviet Union but wherever revisionist cliques are in power. This is only a matter of time.

And time works in our favor, in favor of revolution, not of them, of imperialism and revisionism: behind the façade of U.S.-Soviet alliance lie irreconcilable antagonistic contradictions between the two imperialist Powers that make up this alliance, lie their all-round degeneration, their decay and unrestrainable dissolution, the terrible hatred of the peoples towards them, their inability to wipe out socialism and the revolution. Confronting these two aggressive imperialist Powers are the great People's China, the People's Republic of Albania and all the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist forces the world over. And the forces of this world front are unconquerable, therefore, the U.S.-Soviet hegemonic schemes to dominate the world will also meet with failure.

The duty of all the revolutionaries of the world is to set to work to make the situation more critical to these two major imperialist Powers which are the most dangerous enemies of the revolution, to give them a harder push to their graves and bury them as soon as possible. The present historical task of all the revolutionary and liberation forces of the world is to firmly line up in the great world front of battle against U.S. imperialism as well as against Soviet revisionism because without waging a simultaneous war both against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, without placing the sign of equation between these two imperialist Powers no success can be achieved in revolution and struggle for freedom and independence.

In this regard, the Party of Labor of Albania, implementing its always correct Marxist-Leninist line, has honorably fulfilled and will always fulfil its internationalist revolutionary obligations. While fighting in a consistent way against U.S. imperialism and intensively and without compromise against Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism in general, we do not only defend the achievements of our people from the diabolic intentions of the enemy, from the peril coming from the U.S.-Soviet imperialist alliance, we do not only ensure our forward

march along the road to socialism and communism but fulfil, at the same time, our internationalist obligations side by side the revolutionary forces of the world as active members of the world anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front for the triumph of socialism and communism on a world level.

We have never maintained and will never nurture illusions towards the revisionist cliques, towards their contradictions, shades and conjunctural conduct. For our Party the ideological bridges with modern revisionism have been broken once and for all; as far as we are concerned, the revisionist chiefs are enemies of the revolution and of socialism and we will fight them as such to the end. Our people and Party have been steeled in the 25-year school of uninterrupted principled and persistent battle against revisionism and opportunism and we are not intimidated by any blackmail or pressure, blockade or provocation. Whoever has lifted a stone to throw at our Party and people has seen it drop on his own head. This has happened sofar and this will happen henceforth.

We are a socialist State, a peaceful State. We love and work for peace because peace springs from the very nature of our socialist order. Our country has never attacked nor invaded any other country. On the contrary, we have been repeatedly attacked and invaded by many external enemies against whom we have fought nonstop through centuries. We never intrude into the internal affairs of others, but we do not allow others to intrude into our internal affairs either. We will continue our peaceful foreign policy as we have done sofar, we are in favor of maintaining normal relations with all the States which wish to establish such relations, especially, with neighboring countries regardless of the ideological differences and social orders.

The glorious 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution finds our country stronger than ever, our people more united than ever around their Party of Labor, more prepared than ever to march with steady stride forward along the glorious road of socialism and communism.

Since the formation of the Democratic Government in Berat 25 years ago to this day our People' Regime, the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown very strong. Our task is that by implementing the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, further and continually improve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this task the Party sets for

us will remain in the agenda for many generations to come, for as long as the class struggle continues, as long as it will be necessary for the State Power, the dictatorship of the proletariat to exist, that is to say, up to the time of the ultimate triumph of communism the world over.

Sisters and brothers, let us set to work and exert greater efforts to proceed with bigger strides along the road which is blazed by our Party, by Marxism-Leninism, by Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, let us march always forward at a revolutionary pace, with revolutionary courage, with revolutionary optimism!

Long live our heroic and hardworking people! Long live the people of Berat!

Long live our glorious Party, organizer and guarantee of all the achievements of the Albanian people, loyal standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism and the esteemed leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

In the framework of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country and the triumph of our people's revolution, in November 1969 there was held in Tirana the National Conference of Social Studies sponsored by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the State University of Tirana, the «V. I. Lenin» Party School and the Institute of Economic Studies at the Council of Ministers.

Taking part at the Conference were about 1400 cadres of the Party, Government, Army, Social Organizations and scholars from various sectors throughout the country.

The plenary sessions of the Conference were attended by the Members and Candidate-Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Conference heard 4 Reports, 84 communications and 60 discussions.

From November 12 to 17, the Reports and a considerable number of communications were read in 10 districts and many work centers, agricultural cooperatives and schools.

At the last plenary session, Comrade Ramiz Alia, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania delivered the closing speech which we are publishing in full:

ON FURTHER INTENSIFYING OUR WORK IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL STUDIES

Dear Comrades!

The National Conference of Social Studies held on the occasion of our great jubilee, the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland, is winding up its proceedings today. This Conference marks a notable event in the ideological and sci-

tific life of our country. It turned into a platform of creative Marxist-Leninist thought on the major social problems of the time and into a school of education. The Reports and communications read at the Conference as well as in certain districts and work centers are studies of great value. Part of them rendered a further contribution to the scientific summing up of the revolutionary experience of our Party, to enlightning certain present and future historical problems from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

The National Conference wound up the series of scientific sessions organized on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of liberation throughout the country, from the grassroots to the center. This was a major mass action with hundreds and thousands of cadres and workers taking part in preparing reports and communications and thousands of others as listeners and discussers. This is a good example of carrying out the mass line in the field of ideology and science, of the method of mass education of cadres and workers. All these scientific sessions enriched our experience in the field of social studies and lay a sound basis for better and more intensive work in the days to come.

What is typical about Marxist-Leninist social opinion is that it is upheld and developed not by given individuals or collectives but by the masses of workers, by our State and by our Party, especially its Central Committee. Reports, resolutions, all the important documents of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches are scientific generalizations of deep revolutionary content, of major and indisputable value to the theory and practice of the revolution and socialist construction. On the basis of scientific analysis of situations and events, our Party has worked out a correct, principled line of action, has been able to maintain a revolutionary stand on the most complicated national and international problems, to fight with success in defense of Marxism-Leninism against modern Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionism.

From this viewpoint, the rate of development of social sciences should not be gauged only by monographies and individual studies but, above all, by the collective creative thought of the Party, by its theoretical activity as a whole, by those radical transformations that have been effected in our society under its guidance and under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Viewing the problem from this angle, we can very well say that in the domain of science we have not only not lagged behind but on the contrary, we are far ahead in any other field of

scientific thought. Today, our Party has a clear and well defined opinion of its own on all major internal and external problems, a vanguard opinion scientifically based on Marxism-Leninism which all the revolutionaries in the world appreciate and respect.

The great turning point which Marxism-Leninism effected in the study of society is that it set it on a deeply scientific basis. Marxist-Leninist social sciences are not the science of words and subjective judgments, as some may think, but are as accurate as those of nature itself. If the basic criteria to judge the value of any science are its practical results, then the major transformations effected in our country during this quarter of a century in all field of activity confirm the effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist science, the clarity of its theoretical theses and the accuracy of its scientific forecasts.

Assessing high the role of social sciences, our Party has continually drawn attention to the need for a broader and more intensive development of their separate branches, to the systematic organization of studies in all fields so that the directives of the 5th Party Congress on enlivening creative thought in the field of Marxist-Leninist social science, in our propaganda and all our ideological and cultural work may be put into practice.

In recent years this work has begun to proceed along the right path. Apart from the success achieved in the field of history and philology the studies in which had begun long before, a remarkable success has been scored in the compilation and publication of the «History of the Party of Labor of Albania» as well as of the important documents of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works. These are a great thesaurus of revolutionary experience, a compass determining the direction for all social sciences and studies. They are now being studied with great zeal by hundreds of thousands of persons and are being turned into a powerful incentive of mobilization and education.

Systematically organized studies are being conducted also in other branches of social sciences like those of economy, politics, jurisprudence, pedagogy and aesthetics. In these fields, too, we are persistently striving to create and develop our own Marxist-Leninist thought, to apply Marxist-Leninist methodology.

Of major ideological and scientific value is the wide-scale massive work which is being done in compiling textbooks for schools and higher institutes of learning.

As far as the systematic development of social sciences in separate branches as well as attracting the workers at the grass-

roots to these studies are concerned, we have taken only the initial steps.

The further intensification of the work of studying social problems is an imperative requirement of the time dictated by the present stage of development of the socialist revolution.

Our country is now at an advanced stage of socialist construction and is coming up against new and complicated problems for the solution of which we lack historical experience. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism lie at the root of all our work. But one cannot look for ready-made solutions in the works of our great classics for problems that preoccupy us and those that will emerge in the days to come. Therefore, now more than at any other time, we stand in need of developing creative Marxist-Leninist thought in order to map out the course towards completing the building of socialist society by combining the general truths of communism with the revolutionary practice of our Party and people. It is up to the Marxist-Leninist social sciences to blaze the trail to the revolutionary practice, to explain scientifically the prospects of our development, to become a militant weapon in the hands of our Party.

Our primary task at this time is to intensify all our ideological work as a main link in advancing our revolution in all fields in order to bring about its complete and ultimate triumph. The objective of this work is to educate the new man of communist world outlook and morals. This is the principal terrain on which the class struggle is now being waged. The enemies of socialism attach an ever growing importance to keeping alive and activizing the survivals of alien ideology in the minds of our people. They view these survivals as their basis on which to degenerate all our socialist order. The ideological tempering of our men is the decisive factor of their active and conscious participation in the great work of building socialism and in their remaining always as revolutionaries under every circumstance and under every situation. Therefore, strengthening and raising to a higher level all the ideological work of our Party for the communist education of our workers assume today a deep significance and vital importance.

Studies of social problems serve and should serve this purpose better and better. Clarifying and universalizing the most acute problems of our present social development from the positions of Marxist-Leninist theory help our ideological and political work not to be confined to general principles and truths but to delve into the essence of things, to take a more concrete

grasp of them. They help remove formalism and superficiality in our work of propaganda and agitation, so that these may become clearer and more persuasive, delving deeper into the terrain of revolutionary struggle in which the principles of the proletarian ideology of our Party have and are being embodied.

On the other hand, raising revolutionary practice through social studies to the level of theoretical generalizations eliminates scholasticism in teaching Marxist-Leninist theory, making this theory more understandable to the masses.

The intensification of our studies is dictated also by the need of continually improving the work of leadership of the Party and State organs.

Socialist and communist society is the first social formation in the history of mankind which comes to being, develops and triumphs as a consequence of the conscious application of objective laws. It is built on the basis of scientific programs and plans under the guidance of the party of the working class. It is not chance or spontaneity but deliberate action which determine the development of productive forces, of relations in production, education and culture, ideological training of the masses.

In this sense, the constant rise of scientific leadership in the development of society assumes an ever growing importance. Time has come when, without scientific guidelines, it is impossible not only for the Party Central Committee and the Government but also for any Regional Party Committee, all levels of the State apparatus, economic and cultural institutions and all mass organizations, to conduct their affairs properly. Therefore, the Party constantly instructs us to rid our method of work of pronounced manifestations of narrow practicalism, empiricism, running after minor details of the day which hamper the people from discovering and grasping the phenomena of life, from taking up fundamental problems and solving aright the major tasks they are faced with.

Studies of social problems at all levels and in all fields, the scientific elaboration of the many and complicated theoretical and practical problems which emerge in the process of socialist construction, defining the present and future measures and ways of solving them, all these help raise to an ever higher level the role of leadership of the Party and State organs.

One of the principal objectives of social sciences is to sum up the experience of our revolution and socialist construction. This experience is a great heritage but one which remains devoid of any value if it is not studied and summed up on a scientific

basis. This task has not ended with the publication of the textbook of the «History of the Party of Labor of Albania». A further contribution is rendered by the «History of the National-liberation War» which is being compiled by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies and that of the «History of Albania of the Post-liberation Period» which the Institute of History and Philology are working on.

But it is important to work out and sum up in more detail the revolutionary experience of the Party and the revolution not only on a national level but also on that of districts, localities, enterprises, villages and institutions. The good and useful work which is being done in writing down the annals of the National-liberation War in the districts as well as those of the brigades of the National-liberation Army is a good example to be followed.

Our historical experience should be summed up in such a way as to enable the communists and workers to draw lessons for the present and the future, to help them get a better grasp not only of the course which our Party and people have had to traverse and the war they have waged but also their present tasks arming them to continually carry our great cause further ahead.

The most important and actual task of social sciences is to study the theoretical and practical problems of development of our society towards complete socialist construction. This means that, without neglecting the study of the history of our people, the summing up of the revolutionary experience of our Party and the laboring masses, we should direct our studies, first and foremost, to the actual and future problems which require speedy solution and which help directly in attaining the objectives set by the Party. And problems of this kind there are a lot.

Now, the attention of our Party is concentrated on purging the superstructure of our society of anything alien and on further improving it. Objects of study in this direction can become a number of problems dealing with the elimination of bureaucratism and with the expansion and intensification of proletarian democracy like the improvement of relations between cadres and the masses, raising the role of control by the masses, particularly, the working class, improving socialist legality, etc. Of major importance are the problems dealing with the education of our new man, with his communist formation, with wiping out bourgeois and petty bourgeois survivals from the minds of people. Our studies in this field as well as on matters dealing with the

further revolutionization of our schools, culture and all the spiritual life of our society aim at deducing scientific arguments in support of our Party's orientations, they should amass, work out and sum up theoretic and practical experience, opening up new paths and arming us with theory in our struggle.

Today our Party is exerting all its efforts to solve many social problems which deal with the basic questions of communist ethics, with the complexity of relations in the family, with the way of life, with the complete emancipation of women, with fighting against conservatism and backward customs, etc. At present this is the vital field of deepening revolution. In this field we still come up against obstacles that hinder us from advancing. Comrade Enver Hoxha has continually emphasized that the old reactionary concepts and norms in these fields curb the revolutionary drive of our workers, especially, the energy of youth and women. The merciless war the Party has declared on everything moldy and rotten in this field cannot be waged with success unless we have the support of serious studies which discover the roots of these phenomena, point out the damage resulting from them and arm us spiritually and practically to smash them. But we must admit that sofar we have tackled these problems very lightly and in a very superficial way. Our Party demands of us to make a radical turn in this direction, too. Our main objective here is to embody the principles and new norms of communist ethics in all our life, not only at work but also in the family, in society and everywhere. What is of importance is that studies in this field should not only point out the evils of old norms, to discern and file them, but, by maintaining a revolutionary critical stand towards them, to work out, at the same time, moral values which our society creates, to affirm and uphold with all our efforts moral conduct and our new socialist customs. As in everything, in these fields, too, there act socialist customs. The dialectic law of development through the struggle of opposites, the struggle between the new that comes to being and grows, and the old which declines and dies away, works in these fields just as everywhere else. The duty of Marxist social sciences is not only to explain this law theoretically but also to show how it works in the concrete case of our daily life, and how to be guided by it in every practical stand and activity.

If, just now we are attaching primary importance to the ideological, political and social problems, it does in no way imply that we neglect the study of economic problems. Economy is the

basis of all our social and economic order, its development determines, in the final analysis, the whole development of our society. The role of economic sciences keeps growing from day to day.

Economic sciences must take up the study of a range of problems which deal with the further development of productive forces and, especially, with the further improvement of relations in production. Such problems as the way to build the complete material and technical basis of socialism and deepen the technological and scientific revolution, to raise work output and, especially, to improve the organization of and remuneration for work as well as the methodology of planification and management of people's economy and so on, are themes of complex studies of major actual and future importance. They demand a scientific analysis of the course we have followed and the results we have achieved so far, of our present situation in this field as well as of the problems we have to face. In these and other similar questions one clearly sees the need of studying the historical experience gained together with our present and our future tasks.

The studies of social sciences so far stand out for their class and militant character and for their spirit of proletarian partisanship. These qualities should be preserved and developed also in the days to come in fierce battle with bourgeois and revisionist ideology, preventing it from influencing the sciences and life in our country.

Today, this task assumes special importance because Marxism-Leninism has been subjected to an unparalleled frontal attack by all its enemies ranging from the bourgeoisie of social-democracy, the Trotskyites, anarchists to the modern revisionists. Their objective is one and the same, namely, to down Marxism-Leninism, to alienate the masses from the revolution, from socialism.

A part of them, mainly the modern revisionists, with a view to attaining their objective, reject all the revolutionary substance of proletarian ideology keeping only its outer form, the phraseology of Marxism and socialism. While the others, mainly the bourgeois ideologists, try to achieve this by claiming that Marxism-Leninism has failed and is incapable of solving the present social problems. To make their preachings more persuasive, they take advantage of the bourgeois degeneration in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries where the modern revisionists have come to power.

Under these circumstances, the duty develops on us to discover the reactionary and anti-Marxist essence of the bourgeois and revisionist theories, to lay bare their role of ideological diversion and to expose them through to the end.

In battle with bourgeois and revisionist ideology, our social sciences are called upon to uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to demonstrate their correctness and vitality as living sciences, as active weapon in overthrowing the old bourgeois order and in building new society.

In this respect, it is important for theory to throw light on our revolutionary practice, on the successful solution our Party has given to the major problems of the revolution and socialist construction which goes to show that Marxism-Leninism lives and triumphs and is capable of providing solutions to all problems that rise along the road of social progress.

In order to defend Marxism-Leninism it is necessary at the same time to give a scientific explanation of the world social phenomena of the major international problems of the times and set this explanation off to the anti-Marxist treatment of these phenomena by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. The study of these problems is important also because our country and society are not detached from the outside world, from the development of human society as a whole.

We have to delve deep into the study of problems that are connected with the development of world revolution, especially, with the class struggle of the working class and all other revolutionary forces in capitalist and revisionist countries, with the national-liberation movements, with the movements of students and of youth in general, etc.

At the same time, it is necessary to follow closely the processes of dissolution and decay of the world capitalist system and of the all-round bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries and to draw from them the necessary theoretical and practical conclusions.

The study of these phenomena help us see more clearly the objective trend of the present development of human society, it helps us get a better idea of who are our enemies and who are our allies, it helps us build and follow a correct Marxist-Leninist policy at all times.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have stressed that sciences in socialist Albania can develop along correct lines only with the participation of the broad laboring masses. No-

thing can make headway in our country apart from the line of the masses.

In this direction we have also made progress. Thousands of comrades at the center and in the districts, at industrial enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and in schools have been charged with carrying on studies on various social problems.

At the same time, the workers of our research institutions have left their desks and libraries and, together with workers and peasants, have undertaken a number of important studies at the grassroots where people work and fight against adversities.

As a beginning we can say that the results have not been bad and they have even been encouraging. Nevertheless, all the availabilities are at hand for a larger circle of people to take part in the study of social problems, especially, at the grassroots. This requires that they be given greater and more qualified assistance by the Party and State organs and, especially, by the special scientific research institutions like the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the State University, the Party School and so on.

The practice of these recent years shows that scientific forums are an interesting form of stimulating social studies. Based on this experience, it is necessary to turn them into an integral organic part of the working system of every Party, State, economic and social organs, to turn them into a platform where to cultivate creative thought and take up theoretical problems that emerge from our revolutionary practice. These forums help arm the workers with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, they mobilize the masses to take part in summing up experience and working out theoretical conclusions.

The massiveness of social studies, their organization and sound management are one side of the matter. The other and most important side is to strive to raise the scientific level of these studies.

The value of studies cannot be assessed only by the number of forums and of scholars, nor can it be gauged only by the number of scientific essays, monographs and articles. Their value is measured mainly by the degree of theoretical generalizations, by the new they bring to our theory and revolutionary practice, by how much they can set in motion the masses in the various fronts of battle for socialism and for the defence of our Homeland.

But the truth is that some of our studies suffer from a

number of shortcomings which lower their scientific value. Often they are more descriptive and contain few theoretical generalizations and conclusions or they are too general and are not based on concrete data. In many cases, conclusions given are nothing else but reiterations of general theses and truths already known. Generalizations do not emerge as a logical consequence of a scientific analysis of facts, events and social phenomena of Albanian revolutionary practice. In the studies conducted we rarely see cases of having boldly discovered the new social phenomena, the new objective trends that are met with in the development of our life.

The scientific level of our social studies will be raised if we apply correctly and on a broad scale the principles and criteria of Marxist-Leninist methodology which is the only scientific methodology.

The teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the example of scientific activity set by the great teachers of the proletariat, the application of these teachings to the creative activity of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha go to show that the methodological scientific criteria that should be followed in social studies are: a true portrayal of objective reality, materialist dialectic treatment of facts and events, class analysis of problems and phenomena, proletarian partisanship.

When we say we should rely on the principles of Marxism-Leninism we do not mean to state these principles as formulae or models and then try in a mechanical way to find facts to «prove» that these principles are applied in the revolution and socialist construction in Albania. Such a procedure would be of no benefit to our social sciences. To rely on the principles of Marxism-Leninism means to be guided by the proletarian ideology, by the materialist dialectic method in viewing problems, in analyzing facts and events, in assessing social phenomena and in drawing theoretical conclusions.

The object of every science is reality, life. Therefore, our social sciences should take this as their starting point. No study in the field of social sciences is of any value if it stands apart from the practice of socialist construction, from the struggle against imperialism and revisionism in order to bring about the triumph of socialism on a world scale. Our studies are of practical value when they serve the revolutionary struggle of our Party and people.

In studying revolutionary practice scientifically we are called upon to discover the objective law of social development,

the new phenomena which come to being and grow in the place of the old phenomena which disappear. This helps the new social phenomena, the new objective trends to develop faster, to become more consolidated and to receive general approval.

In social studies as well as in our propaganda as a whole we discard the old and we do well at that. We discard the stains of the old feudal-bourgeois society at the base and the superstructure, we discard backward customs and patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts in the minds of the people, we discard religious superstitions and prejudices and the treacherous views and acts of the revisionists. Discarding them is, of course, essential but that is not all there is to it. While rejecting the old, the reactionary, the important thing is to assert the new, the progressive, the revolutionary. This we do not always do well and in full. Life has gone to show that the old is done away with only by fighting it and replacing it fully with the new. To discard the old is relatively easier while to fight it out of existence and to assert the new is more difficult. It is precisely to surmounting this difficulty in order to pave the way for the new that our social sciences should render their contribution.

Comrades!

In winding up the proceedings of the National Conference of Social Studies, allow me on behalf of the Party Central Committee to congratulate the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the «V.I. Lenin» Party School, the State University of Tirana and the Institute of Economic Studies for having organized this Conference on a high ideological and scientific level, to congratulate the authors of the reports and dissertations and all those who took part in discussions, who contributed towards its success.

Let the experience of scientific forums and of this National Conference be an incentive for a more active and a more persistent effort in carrying out successfully the instruction of our Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha in raising to a new and higher level the creative thought in the field of Marxist-Leninist social studies! Let us forge ahead with full confidence in our efforts, in the scientific ability of our men; let us set courageously to work in studying the numerous and great problems, devoting all our energies to the uninterrupted development of socialist revolution in Albania!

Long live the Party of Labor of Albania and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

DECISION

TAKEN BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA ON THE REDUCTION OF PRICES OF RETAIL SALES ON CERTAIN COMMODITIES FOR BROAD CONSUMPTION, ON CERTAIN OTHER MEASURES IN FAVOR OF THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES AND ON THE TOTAL ABOLISHMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF TAXATION

Guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the higher interests of the people, the Party of Labor of Albania has built a correct economic policy and carried it out step by step with wisdom and revolutionary courage, as a consequence of which the Albanian people have attained magnificent achievement within the last quarter of a century. National income in 1969 is envisaged to increase five times as much as in 1950. Today, Albania has its own up-to-date national industry of advanced technique which turns out 58 times as much as in 1938 or 14 times as much as in 1950. Complete collectivization of agriculture and the deep socialist changes that have been effected in this sector are a further major victory of historical significance of our people. Today, Albania boasts of an advanced many branched agriculture which is well on the way of becoming intensified. Global agricultural production in 1968 was 2.8 times as much as in 1938.

On the basis of the increase of national income, the well-being of the laboring masses has steadily increased from year to year. During the 1951-1969 period, per capita consumption has increased 2.5 times as against a 1.7 times increase of population. Within this same period, the real pay of workers and employees has increased 1.7 times while the real incomes of the peasants have increased 2 times.

Inspired by the ever correct Marxist-Leninist line of our

glorious Party, our people are hard at work in further deepening socialist revolution in all fields. The revolutionary creative initiatives of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, placing public over personal interests, the further deepening of the ideological, cultural, technological and scientific revolution, the struggle of all the people to reach and over-reach the targets set by the 4th five-year plan have made it possible to further develop the forces of production and to raise the material and cultural level of the people.

* * *

On the eve of the great jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania guided by the historical decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party, based on the achievements attained, on the rapid and all-round development of our economy, on the economic and financial availabilities of our Socialist State, decided to carry out, beginning with November 8 this year, a number of important steps to further raise the well-being of the people, involving a total sum of 245 million leks, of which the yearly profit of the people will amount to 170 millions leks. For this purpose:

1) to lower the prices on certain commodities for broad consumption, on drugs, insecticides, certain agricultural machines, as well as the fees for certain services with a profit to the people amounting to 100 million leks;

2) to totally abolish the system of taxation so as to rid all incomes of workers from any curtailment, as well as to exempt passengers from any payments of compulsory insurance with a yearly profit to the people amounting to 9 million leks;

3) to take the following steps in order to give a greater impetus to the economic consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives in the hill and mountain regions through our financial and credit system as well as to create more favorable conditions for their speedy and all-round development;

a) to totally abolish the yearly taxes on the incomes of agricultural cooperatives in hilly and mountain regions saving them 26 million leks;

b) to lower the tariffs of Motor and Tractor Stations for the work they perform in hill and mountain agricultural co-

peratives and to make certain adjustments in the payroll of the tractor drivers in these regions. This measure will save the agricultural cooperatives and tractor drivers in mountain and hilly regions 10 million leks a year;

c) subject to the criteria to be set by the Council of Ministers, to write off all credits accorded to the agricultural cooperatives in hill and mountain regions to buy draft animals, utilities, to pay the Machine and Tractor Stations for work done, and so on, amounting to a total of 98 million leks;

4) to raise the purchasing price of meat, wool and of certain tanniferous and medicinal herbs which the State buys at the rates to be set by a special decree of the Council of Ministers.

* * *

The new measures adopted by the Party and Government help raise the standards of living of the people, increase the real pay of the working class and the incomes of the cooperative peasantry. They help also develop the mountain and hill agricultural cooperatives at a speedier rate, strengthen the alliance between the working class and the cooperative peasantry, narrow down the differences between town and village, between the lowlands and uplands in full conformity with the directives of the 5th Party Congress. Reduction of prices on the basis of constant increase of production, the total abolishment of the system of taxation and the other measures in favor of agricultural cooperatives are a living proof of the correct revolutionary policy of our Party and Socialist State. These important measures to improve the wellbeing of the people are being taken in our country at a time when, in capitalist countries and in countries where the revisionists have come to power, prices, taxes and unemployment are continually on the increase which keep bringing about the further exploitation and the deterioration of the plight of the laboring masses in urban and rural areas.

Taking such important steps are a further proof of the major successes which have been attained by our working class and cooperative peasantry in raising and strengthening our economy and of the brilliant prospects which are opened up to our socialist homeland.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania express their unshaken confidence that, under the guidance of the Party, our

people will multiply their efforts to further develop production at a speedy rate, to raise work output and to prevent waste; that they will exert all their energies and work with more revolutionary zeal to build full socialism in our country.

Just as always, in steel-like unity around their Party and with unshaken confidence in its correct line, our people will always hold aloft and unstained the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism. Inspired by the revolutionary slogan «to hold the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other», our people will further deepen the ideological and cultural revolution, carrying out a revolutionary class struggle, further galvanizing the defensive power of the country and forging always ahead towards building socialism and communism.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOR AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Tirana 6-XI-1969

TELEGRAM

Comrade MAO TSETUNG, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Comrade LIN PIAO, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Comrade CHOU EN-LAI, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

PEKING

Dear Comrades,

It is a great joy for us that, in these days of celebration of the glorious jubilee, the 20th anniversary of the Proclamation of the People's Republic of China, we, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, as well as in our own names, convey to you, dear comrades, and through you to the fraternal Chinese people, the glorious Communist Party of China and the government of the People's Republic of China our revolutionary greetings and the most ardent and cordial fraternal congratulations.

Twenty years ago, on October 1, 1949, the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tsetung, from the Tien An Men rostrum, proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China. This was the greatest victory of the Chinese people in their centuries-long history, a history of sufferings and uninterrupted struggles against the internal exploiting classes and foreign colonialist and imperialist powers. This was the victory of the unexampled struggle and efforts of the Communist Party of China which was at the head of the Chinese people, of the legen-

dary marches and battles of the People's Liberation Army against the Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries, of the struggles and efforts of the whole Chinese people who rose to revolution as a giant, with the whole grandeur of their power, under the leadership of the great strategist of revolution, Chairman Mao Tsetung.

The Chinese people have come to this glorious jubilee with a great balance-sheet of victories on all the fronts of socialist construction. During these two brilliant decades the People's Republic of China, led by the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tsetung's Marxist-Leninist ideas, successfully coped with all the great and countless obstacles that faced them — the great backwardness inherited from the past, the resistance of the overthrown classes, the savage aggressive activities of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. The poor and hungry old China, a prey of old imperialists, has turned into a new, powerful, socialist China, with an industry which is in a position to produce the most up-to date equipment of the times, with a thriving socialist agriculture, with advanced revolutionary science and culture, and with a defensive potential which is in a position to smash any aggressor or coalition of aggressors that woul dare to raise their hand against the Chinese people.

The triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and of Chairman Mao Tsetung's ideas and the smashing of the revisionist traitorous band of the hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi have raised China to new heights, added wings to China of 700 million people in her unprecedeted revolutionary development and made her invincible. The triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has destroyed the diabolical plans of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and international reaction to turn China back to the road of capitalist development. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism, the victory of socialism over capitalism, the victory of the revolutionary line over the counter-revolutionary line. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution shows the invincible force of Chairman Mao Tsetung's ideas. As a great Marxist-Leninist, as a great master of revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung has worked out the strategy and tactics of this unmatched revolution and led it to complete historic victory.

The historic 9th Congress of the glorious Communist Party of China has sanctioned the decisive victory of the Great Pro-

letarian Cultural Revolution, further steeled the Party and tempered its unity of thought and action on the basis of the all-conquering ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tsetung. The 9th Congress has raised still higher the red banner of revolution and socialism in the resolute struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet traitorous clique.

Today, when the great ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution have been betrayed by the Khrushchevite revisionists, and when the Soviet Union has fallen under the heels of a handful of renegades to revolution and socialism, embarked on the road of capitalism and become an ally of U.S. imperialism, People's China stands as a giant fortress of socialism and communism in the world, a powerful base of world revolution, a firm standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism, and a resolute defender of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

During these 20 years of people's power the People's Republic of China has become a great world power, she is playing a first-rate role in the course of events and in the preservation of peace and security in the world, and no important international political problem whatsoever can find a just solution in the interests of the peoples and of peace without her direct participation. By her correct, revolutionary and principled policy in defence of the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples from the ambitions of the U.S. imperialists and their allies — the Soviet revisionists, she has won to herself the hearts of the revolutionary peoples of the world and enjoys great international prestige and authority.

The liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and other continents against old and new imperialism and against the ill-famed U.S.-Soviet alliance and plots has assumed a great upsurge and is in constant growth. The U.S. imperialists are sustaining continuous, very grave and all-round defeats. The Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement is growing and becoming stronger with every passing day while the front of the Khrushchevite revisionists is decaying and collapsing as a result of ever deepening disputes and rifts. The passage of the Soviet revisionist clique to social-imperialism, the aggression against the Czechoslovak people and the placing of Czechoslovakia under the heel of occupation, the sabre-rattling against other peoples, the frantic anti-China slanderous campaign, the premeditated and deliberate Soviet provocations on the borders of the People's

Republic of China and all the other preparations for aggression against great and invincible China show the fascistization, weakness and rottenness of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique.

The whole course of events shows that there is no force on earth that can stop the forward march of the 700 million Chinese people, the victorious march of revolution, in the same way as there is no force on earth that can save the imperialists and the modern revisionists from their complete defeat.

In the crucible of the struggles for the triumph of the great cause of communism, in the struggle for the building of happiness and socialism in our countries, in the common trench against the common imperialist-revisionist enemies, the militant friendship between the Albanian people and the Chinese people, between our two Parties and two countries has been born, grown and tempered. This is a friendship erected on the granite-like basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is a friendship of peoples and revolutionaries, tested in days of weal and woe.

The friendship wrought in the crucible of class struggles is the strongest and sincerest friendship. Our two peoples and our two Parties will fight to continually strengthen and steel this friendship, they will continue as always to be side by side in the first glorious trench of revolution, facing the successive counter-revolutionary waves which, as always, will be smashed into smithereens before our force. We are building socialism and shall march still further, on the road towards communism, we here, in the southeast extremity of Europe, and you there on your great territory. We and you will always keep lit the beacon of communism in good weather and tempestuous weather. No force was born or will ever be born in the world capable of obstructing our forward march. Our road, illuminated by the light of victorious Marxism-Leninism, is clear. Revolution is invincible.

Once more ardently greeting the great jubilee of the Proclamation of the People's Republic of China, we heartily wish the great Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by the great leader and the Albanian people's respected friend Comrade Mao Tsetung, new magnificent victories in their struggle for the building of socialism, new glorious victories in the non-stop revolutionary march towards communism.

May the People's Republic of China live in centuries!

May the unbreakable militant Albanian-Chinese friendship live and flourish in centuries!

ENVER HOXHA,

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labor of Albania

HAXHI LLESHI

Chairman of the Presidium of the Popular
Assembly of the People's Republic of
Albania

MEHMET SHEHU

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of
the People's Republic of Albania

September 30, 1969, Tirana.

TELEGRAM

To COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania,

COMRADE HAXHI LLESHI, Chairman of the Presidium of the Popular Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania,

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania

TIRANA

Dear Comrades!

At a time when, filled with a high sentiment of pride in their victory, the fraternal Albanian people are joyfully celebrating the 25th anniversary of the liberation of their country, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, of the Government of the People's Republic of China and of all the Chinese people, we express our heartiest greetings to you, to the Party of Labor of Albania, to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and to all the Albanian people.

Under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people took up arms, marched forward with courage and unswervingly, waged a long protracted war and, 25 years ago, smashed the Italian and German fascist invaders relying on their own efforts and liberated their homeland. This is a major victory in the history of revolutionary struggle of the Albanian people.

During 25 years of liberation, the heroic Albanian people, under the wise guidance of the Party of Labor of Albania, holding aloft the red banner of Marxism-Leninism, undismayed by difficulties and violence, frustrated all attempts at subversion, sabotage and trouble making by internal and external class enemies, safeguarded the independence of the country and defended the socialist State. Holding firmly on to the dictatorship of the proletariat and proceeding along the path of socialism, the Albanian people have achieved brilliant successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The movement of revolutionization in Albania has carried socialist revolution to a still higher stage, has brought about a great change in the spiritual physiognomy of man and has given a further push to the rapid development of the cause of socialist construction. The Albanian people have waged an heroic battle against U.S.-led imperialism, and modern revisionism with its center at the Soviet revisionist clique of leadership and against reaction in various countries, rendering a valuable contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world. Today, Socialist Albania has become an insuperable bastion in support of the struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the various countries of the world for their liberation.

The brilliant achievements attained by the Albanian people are due to the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party of Labor of Albania led by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha. Through their enlightened revolutionary practice, the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people have enriched the treasure of Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese people and the Communist Party of China rejoice a lot at the brilliant successes and major victories scored by their closed comrades-in-arms, the Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania.

In our long common struggle, our two Parties, Governments and people have been bound by strong ties of revolutionary friendship. Our friendship has been built on the bedrock of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It has withstood all storms and tempests. The uninterrupted development of Chinese-Albanian friendship will certainly exert an ever deeper influence on the international communist movement and on the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world.

Today, the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world has entered a new historical period. Regardless of any unbridled attempts the imperialists, the modern revisionists and

the reactionaries of the various countries may make, they will not be able to escape their certain doom. Their days are numbered. Let us join closely with the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the various countries of the world in order to reap still greater victories!

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

Long live the militant, everlasting and unbreakable friendship between the peoples of China and Albania!

MAO TSETUNG

Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China

LIN PIAO

Deputy-Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party
of China

CHOU EN-LAI

Chairman of the State Council of the
People's Republic of China

Peking, November 28, 1969

On 14 December 1969, the people of the Dibra district undertook a major revolutionary mass action and, in the record time of 8 hours, opened a 17 km long canal which will irrigate 1.000 hectares of land.

We are publishing the letter sent by Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu who, on behalf of the Party and the Government congratulate the working masses of the Dibra district on this brilliant mass action and express their confidence that this will spark off a major flame of a chain of revolutionary mass actions at concentrated targets all over the country, and the telegram sent by the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Dibra district announcing the successful initiative of the workers of the Dibra district.

TO COMRADE SUL BAHOLLI

First Secretary of the Party Committee of the Dibra district

TO COMRADE HYSEN MATA

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Dibra district

Dear Comrades,

With a deep feeling of joy, enthusiasm and pride for our marvellous people and our Party of Labor, which leads them courageously to battles and victories, we received from you the news about the great mass action carried out on December 14 by the people of the Dibra district, who, «taking a kilometer-

long step and doing an hour's work in a minute's time» as a Slova cooperative member justly put it, opened an irrigation canal 17 kilometers long, 1 meter deep, 2.50 meters wide on the top and 0.60 meters at its bottom by digging up and removing 42.000 cubic meters of earth within the record time of 8 hours.

This new mass action is the brilliant expression of the ardent patriotism of the brave and hard-working Dibra people, of the indomitable revolutionary spirit and courage of the laboring masses of your district, of their steel-like unity and unshaken confidence in the correctness of our Party's line, of the lofty spirit of collectivism and solidarity characterizing them, of the illustrious and perfect organization and management of work on the part of the organs of the Party, State and mass organizations. This is a living proof of the vitality, powerful drive and non-stop march of our victorious revolution.

The December 14, 1969 mass action makes a new link in the untiring constructing work of the Dibra people, who, imbued with the idea and trained with the method of mass action by the Party, have passed from one mass action to another, from the drive to liquidate the consequences of the 1967 December earthquake to the efforts exerted to raise the output of cereals, from the mass action to set up social and cultural centers in rural areas to the present unprecedented mass action, in which participated over 12.000 people, half of them women, from 114 villages and from the city of Peshkopia. This shows that you have always kept alive, have raised and continue to raise with every passing day to a new and higher level that ardent revolutionary spirit which burst out and that rich experience of work and organization which was gained two years ago in the courageous battle to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake.

The December 14 mass action is, without doubt, a significant economic victory for the cooperative peasantry of the Dibra district, because 1000 hectares of land have been brought under irrigation. But its real value and significance are much greater and deeper.

The ideological and political significance of this great revolutionary mass action lies, first of all, in the vivid inspiring and convincing example it sets in imbuing the masses throughout our fatherland with the spirit of work and revolutionary mass actions, with the spirit of unshaken confidence in their own forces, in the colossal availabilities originating from collective work, in arousing the spirit of proletarian solidarity among the laboring people, in fighting against bureaucratic and technocra-

tic conceptions and practices. Its significance lies also in the example it sets in the concrete analysis of the Party's directives and orientations, in the perfect organization of work at a military tempo, in the high preparedness of the masses and in the conscientious proletarian discipline for the application of all the tasks the Party sets forth.

What took place in Peshkopia is not a miracle but a progressive initiative along the natural course of the development of our socialist revolution. In the spirit of this praise-worthy example all the laboring collectives, enterprises, agricultural co-operatives and districts of our country may and should pose this question: What shall we do in order to instill the spirit and style of revolutionary mass action in all our work? Should we not undertake everywhere concrete mass actions in order to reach the five-year plan targets before schedule, through smashing courageously the concepts and norms of work applied so far?

All the districts, the Party, State and mass organs and organizations, in urban and rural areas, will know how to draw major lessons in organizing mass actions at concentrated targets in all fields, in agriculture and industry, building construction, culture and everywhere.

There is no doubt that your example will spark off a fresh immense fire of a chain of revolutionary mass actions and it will arouse all our people to honorably fulfil and overfulfil the tasks set for the construction of socialism.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, we express our most ardent greetings and congratulations to the heroic people of the Dibra district and, in particular, to the cooperative members of the 114 villages, to the working people of the city of Peshkopia and to all the communists who took part in and successfully carried out this great revolutionary mass action. Our Party and Government are fully confident that, under the leadership of the Party organizations, the people of the Dibra district will always keep aloft the fighting spirit of mass actions in the future, too.

ENVER HOXHA
First Secretary of the Central
Committee of the PLA

MEHMET SHEHU
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the PLA

Tirana, December 12, 1969.

TELEGRAM

TO COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA

TO COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA

Tirana

Dear Comrades,

Today, on December 14, on the second anniversary of your visit to Peshkopia during those cold but stormy days of December 1967, in the framework of the campaign for the elections to the Party, we are glad to inform you that the people of the Dibra district undertook a new mass action — opening in one day a 17 km-long irrigation canal.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, our people and Party organization found inspiration in the Party's and your teachings and ideas, in the historic speech you made two years ago in Peshkopia in which, among other things, you instructed the Party to draw great political, ideological, organizational lessons from these moments, to draw lessons from work organization, in order to further improve its method of work and to forge ever better ahead.

Dear comrades, led by the Party, our people have taken this instruction to heart considering it a fire-arm to fight, to carry out mass actions and they have scored ever greater successes strengthening every passing day the confidence in their own forces which are immensurable when the Party's and your lessons are applied, Comrade Enver.

By further promoting the method of mass actions, the people of our district increased the output of cereals, reached the targets of the five-year plan in reclaiming virgin land and in fulfilling the five-year plan of increasing irrigation capacity in two years and six months and built 277 kilometers of motor highways and set up 1,129 social and cultural centres in rural areas within a few months, etc.

Dear comrades, it was from these major mass actions that our people came today to build the Fush-Alia canal. They seemed eager to add this major mass action to those sponsored by the Party. As soon as they learned that the Fush-Alia-Vakuf canal was to be built in one day, old and young sprang to their feet and hurried to the spot where the canal was to be built. The fraternal socialist solidarity between the working class and the peasantry was manifested here with a new greater force. Half of the population of the Dibra district were there. Our district is made up of 182 villages, 114 of which took part in building this irrigation canal. 12,000 workers, 5,800 of them women and young women, poured in from agricultural cooperatives and from more than 30 enterprises, institutions, schools and from the military garrison of Peshkopia, setting out before daybreak with torches in their hands most of whom on foot and 3 hours later lined up in a row along the canal-to-be looking like a winding row of flames.

The cooperative farmers, city workers, armymen, intellectuals, students and teachers sang revolutionary songs, beat their drums and blew their winged instruments. One-third of the town people and columns of cooperative farmers from Shupenza, Maqelar, Melan and other villages marched through the «Gjok Doçi» Square under the tunes played by the Peshkopia brass band. There was cheer, enthusiasm and resolve in their faces. If you happened to ask any of them you would get such an answer, «We are resolved to build this canal within the day even if it rains cats and dogs».

Just as in December 1967, the people were organized in groups. Every enterprise, agricultural cooperative and institution was assigned a plot of ground to dig on. Every body set enthusiastically to work, competing with one another and in 8 hours, several hour before schedule, the job was finished, while certain villages and work-centers finished up their job even earlier: 10, 11, or 12 a.m.

The arrival of comrade Abdyl Këllezi and his long walk along the canal track to bring the mass action participants of the

Dibra district your ardent greetings and congratulations, raised to a higher level the enthusiasm and the emulation of the masses and sped up the construction of this project.

The mass action participants asked comrade Abdyl Kellezi to transmit to the Party Central Committee, to the Government and to you, Comrade Enver, their unbounded love.

On this occasion we assure the Party and you, dear comrades, that the people of the Dibra district, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, carrying the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other, hawk-eyed and keeping the powder dry, will ever protect with vigilance the State borders of the People's Republic from the enemies, the imperialists and the Titoite and the Khrushchevite modern revisionists and will launch one mass action after another in order to better exploit the great internal resources in all fields, in order to revolutionize production and life at an ever faster rate.

May our heroic Party of Labor live for ever!

May you, Comrade Enver, live as long as the high mountain of Korab!

On behalf of the Party Committee of the Dibra district

First Secretary:
SUL BAHOLLI

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Popular Council of the Dibra district

Chairman:
HYSEN MATA

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